

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

V. 51

NEW SERIES, VOL. I.—1895.

London :
PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MDCCCXCV.

8

9

9188

LONDON :
BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21, BEDFORDBURY, W.C.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface	VII
Prospectus	i
Rules of the Association	iii
List of Congresses	vii
Officers and Council for the Session 1894-5	ix
List of Associates	x
Local Members of Council	xix
Honorary Correspondents	xx
Honorary Foreign Members	xxi
List of Societies exchanging Publications	xxii

1. The Early Occupants in the Vicinity of the Mersey, Morecambe Bay, and Manchester. By Dr. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A., V.P.	1
2. British Footprints: The Oldham Master-Key. By SAMUEL ANDREW, Esq.	11
3. Reminiscences of Visits to Segontium (Carnarvon). By HARRY SHERATON, Esq.	21
4. Some Bypaths of the Great Civil War in Lancashire. By Rev. J. H. STANNING, M.A.	25
5. On the Importance of Preserving the Records and Literary Antiquities of Wales, as illustrated by some recent Publications. By W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., <i>Hon. Sec.</i>	35
6. The Early Deeds relating to the Manor of Manchester, now in the Possession of the Corporation of that City. By J. P. EARWAKER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	49
7. "Riding Skimmington" and "Riding the Stang". By C. R. B. BARRETT, Esq., M.A.	58
8. Deva: on some Traces of a Building discovered West of the Forum. By FRANK H. WILLIAMS, Esq.	69
9. The Discovery of a Norman Crypt at Canterbury. By E. P. L. BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., <i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	86
10. Recent Discoveries in Bristol. By Dr. A. C. FRYER	90

	PAGE
11. Notes on a Bed-Warmer By RICHARD QUICK, Esq., Curator of the Horniman Museum	93
12. Seals of the Bishops of Winchester. By ALLAN WYON, Esq., V.P., <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , F.S.A., Chief Engraver of Her Majesty's Seals	101
13. On the Head of Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury; a Relic preserved in the Church of St. Gregory, Sudbury, Suffolk. By W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., Sub-Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral	126
14. Shoe-Lore. By H. SYER CUMING, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.Scot.	148
15. Pre-Norman Churches in Lancashire. By Lieut.-Colonel H. FISHWICK, F.S.A.	154
16. Historical Notes of Whalley Abbey. By W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.	161
17. Otham Church and Parish. By Rev. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., Vicar of Detling, Kent	167
18. Finds in an American Tumulus. By Dr. A. C. FRYER	187
19. Glastonbury Abbey. By Miss EDITH BRADLEY	205
20. Roman Manchester and the Roads to and from it. By Rev. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D.	214
21. Recent Visit to Carthage. By Rev. H. CART, M.A.	225
22. On Skull-Goblets. By H. S. CUMING, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.Scot.	235
23. The Excavation of a Roman Villa in the Wadfield, near Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire. By E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., <i>Hon. Treasurer</i>	242
24. The Doors of the Church of Santa Sabina in Rome. By S. RUSSELL-FORBES, Ph.D.	251
25. Some Points of Controversy on the Roman Road near Blackstone Edge. By HENRY COLLEY MARSH, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.	259
26. Visitations of the Plague in Lancashire and Cheshire. By WILLIAM A. E. AXON, Esq.	265
27. The Hill of Tara. By R. H. McDONALD, Esq.	271
28. A Walk to Shirburn Castle, Co. Oxon. By WALTER MONEY, Esq., F.S.A.	285
29. The Igel Monument. By Dr. A. C. FRYER	296
30. Valle Crucis Abbey. By Rev. T. H. OWEN	299
31. Crypte Court, Watergate Street, Chester. By F. H. WILLIAMS, Esq.	303
32. Notes relative to some Northamptonshire Churches of Norman Age, etc. By J. T. IRVINE, Esq.	309
33. The Ancient Court Records of the Borough of Salford. By C. MAKINSON, Esq., Alderman	314

34. Researches and Excavations in Argolis, Phocis, Boeotia, and other Parts of Greece. By J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A., V.P.R.S.L., etc.	327
--	-----

Proceedings of the Manchester Congress	81-85
Proceedings of the Association	86, 187, 347
Election of Associates	86, 89, 91, 95, 189, 196, 347
Presents to the Library	86, 89, 91, 92, 186, 189, 196, 347, 348
Annual General Meeting	190
Balance Sheet for the year ending 31 Dec. 1894	191
Hon. Treasurer's Report	192
Hon. Secretaries' Report	194
Election of Officers for the Session 1895-6	195
Obituary : Mr. G. M. HILLS	198
„ Rev. R. E. HOOPPELL	280
„ Mr. E. P. L. BROCK	350

Antiquarian Intelligence :—

<i>Wenhaston, Suffolk, Parish Records.</i> Rev. J. B. Clare	96
<i>Early London Theatres : in the Fields.</i> T. F. Ordish, F.S.A.	96
Recent Discovery of Roman Antiquities at Bath. Major C. E. Davis, F.S.A.	97
<i>Ancient and Holy Wells in Cornwall.</i> M. and L. Quiller-Couch	97
<i>English Topography in Gentleman's Magazine.</i> G. L. Gomme	100
<i>The Friend of Sir Philip Sidney, being Selections from the Work of F. Greville, Lord Brooke.</i> A. B. Grosart	100
<i>Eighteen Years' Work in a Yorkshire Parish.</i> Rev. Newton Mant, M.A., F.S.A.	200
<i>Analecta Eboracensia, or Some Remains of the Ancient City of York.</i> Rev. C. Caine	200
<i>Old Cornish Crosses.</i> A. G. Langdon	202
<i>Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire (Gloucestershire Notes and Queries).</i> C. T. Davis	203
<i>Insecurity of Peterborough Cathedral</i>	204
<i>Ancient Towers and Doorways, being Representations and Restorations of Masoncraft relating to Early Scottish Ecclesiology.</i> A. Galletly and A. Taylor	281
<i>Cratfield Parish Accounts.</i> Rev. W. Holland	282
<i>A History of Devonshire.</i> R. N. Worth	283
<i>Lambourn Church, Berkshire</i>	283
<i>St. Mawgan-in-Meneage, Cornwall</i>	284
<i>The King's Peace : a Historical Sketch of the English Law-Courts.</i> F. A. Inderwick, Q.C.	353
<i>A History of Northumberland.</i> C. J. Bates	354
<i>A History of Lancashire.</i> Lieut.-Col. H. Fishwick	355
<i>Ruckinge Church, Kent</i>	356
<i>Cratfield Parish Papers.</i> Rev. W. Holland	357
<i>Important Discoveries at Nancy</i>	358
<i>Excavation on Barry Island</i>	ib.
Index	359

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
1. Map of British Footprints : the Oldham Master-Key	16
2. Supposed Effigy of Publicius	23
3. Riding the Stang. From the large Brass at Lynn	62
4. Deva : a Plan of Remains found West of the Forum, 1894	72
5. Roman Balance found at Chester	80
6. Roman Tiles found at Chester	<i>ib.</i>
7. Norman Font-Bowl at Waddon, Wilts	89
8. Bronze Steelyard found at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire	92
9. Mediæval Bed-Warmer	93
10. St. Ruan's Well, Cornwall	97
11. St. Cyr's Well, Cornwall	<i>ib.</i>
12. Holy Well, Chapel Farm, St. Breward, Cornwall	98
13. Dupath Well, St. Dominick, Cornwall	99
14. Holy Well, Roche, Cornwall	<i>ib.</i>
15. Seals of the Bishops of Winchester. Plate I	101
16. Ditto, Plate II	110
17. Ditto, Plate III	114
18. Ditto, Plate IV	118
19. Head of Archbishop Simon at Sudbury	141
20. Ground-Plan of Otham Church	168
21. Doorway, Otham Church	170
22. Brass of Thomas Hendley at Otham	172
23. Gore Court, Otham	183
24. Three Seals of Rievaulx Abbey	200
25. Old Cornish Cross in Sancreed Churchyard	202
26. Details of Gloucestershire Brasses	204
27. Roman Villa near Sudeley	246
28. Ancient Carvings on the Doors of Sta. Sabina at Rome. Plate I	252
29. Ditto, Plate II	254
30. Ditto, Plate III	256
31. Ditto, Plate IV	258
32. Roman Road over Blackstone Edge	260
33. Plan of Tara	272
34. Rath-na-Riogh, Ireland	276
35. Rath Laochanair, Ireland	<i>ib.</i>
36. The Croppies' Grave, Tara	277
37. Iona, General View of Buildings	281
38. Iona Cathedral	<i>ib.</i>
39. Iona, St. Oran's Chapel	282
40. Coldingham Nunnery	<i>ib.</i>
41. Doorway at Lamington, Lanarkshire	<i>ib.</i>
42. Roman Monument at Shirburn	292
43. The Igel Monument (<i>Frontispiece</i>)	297
44. Capitals in Chancel of Wakerley Church, Northamptonshire	311
45. Gold Lion's Head Mask found at Mykenae	345
46. Solid Gold flying Dragon, ditto	346
47. Seals of the Forest	353
48. Ruckinge Church, Kent	356
49. Ditto, Norman South Door	<i>ib.</i>

PREFACE.

THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION for the year 1895 contains thirty-four of the principal Papers read at the Congress at Manchester in the summer of 1894, or during the evening meetings of the Session 1894-5 in London, as well as the Proceedings of the Congress and evening meetings. The Volume has been illustrated with many plates, which have been contributed by the liberality of the authors of the Papers to which they appertain, and by this means the Association has been enabled to give a more pictorial appearance to the present Volume than would otherwise have been possible.

The contents will be seen to be, as is generally the case, very miscellaneous and all-embracing; but the absence of any very important or out-of-the-way discovery, which has characterised two previous years, will be still noticeable in this.

This year has been saddened by the loss of three

persons who figured prominently in the history of the Association, and who have helped to rear the edifice which it is the duty of those who have been spared to maintain. In Mr. G. M. HILLS we had a Treasurer and leader of marked financial and archaeological excellence; in Dr. HOOPPELL, an antiquary of deep research into the history of Roman Britain; in Mr. E. P. L. BROCK, a Secretary and organiser of no ordinary capacity, whose store of knowledge was ever ready to be imparted to us, and who, in his own branch of ecclesiology, has earned a noble reputation for intelligent repairs as opposed to reckless restorations of the sacred fanes which he was so often called upon to rescue from the arch-enemy of all ancient things,—time, the inexorable; time, the obliterator of all that partakes of the nature of a human record.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

31 December 1895.

British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Saville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archaeological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archaeologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archaeologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1894-95 are as follows:—1894, Nov. 21; Dec. 5. 1895, January 2, 16; Feb. 6, 20; March 6, 20; April 3, 17; May 1 (Annual General Meeting), 15; June 5.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names, and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.

RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or, in his absence, by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the third Wednesday in November, the first Wednesday in December, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from January to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely, at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted

as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at			Under the Presidency of
1844	CANTERBURY	.	THE LORD A. D. CONYNGHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845	WINCHESTER	.	
1846	GLOUCESTER	.	
1847	WARWICK	.	
1848	WORCESTER	.	
1849	CHESTER	.	
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	.	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851	DERBY	.	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852	NEWARK	.	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853	ROCHESTER	.	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854	CHEPSTOW	.	
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT	.	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856	BRIDGWATER AND BATH	.	
1857	NORWICH	.	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858	SALISBURY	.	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBURY
1859	NEWBURY	.	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860	SHREWSBURY	.	BERIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861	EXETER	.	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
1862	LEICESTER	.	JOHN LEE, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1863	LEEDS	.	LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., F.S.A.
1864	IPSWICH	.	GEORGE TOMLINE, Esq., M.P., F.S.A.
1865	DURHAM	.	THE DUKE OF CLEVELAND
1866	HASTINGS	.	THE EARL OF CHICHESTER
1867	LUDLOW	.	SIR C. H. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bt.
1868	CIRENCESTER	.	THE EARL BATHURST
1869	ST. ALBAN'S	.	THE LORD LYTTON
1870	HEREFORD	.	CHANDOS WREN HOSKYNs, Esq., M.P.
1871	WEYMOUTH	.	SIR W. COLES MEDLICOTT, Bt., D.C.L.
1872	WOLVERHAMPTON	.	THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH
1873	SHEFFIELD	.	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1874	BRISTOL	.	KIRKMAN D. HODGSON, Esq., M.P.
1875	EYESHAM	.	THE MARQUESS OF HERTFORD
1876	BODMIN AND PENZANCE	.	THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE

Congresses have been already held at	Under the Presidency of
1877 LLANGOLLEN . .	SIR WATKIN W. WYNN, BART., M.P.
1878 WISBECH . .	THE EARL OF HARDWICKE
1879 YARMOUTH & NORWICH	THE LORD WAVENEY, F.R.S.
1880 DEVIZES . .	THE EARL NELSON
1881 GREAT MALVERN .	LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D., DEAN OF WORCESTER
1882 PLYMOUTH . .	THE DUKE OF SOMERSET, K.G.
1883 DOVER . .	THE EARL GRANVILLE, K.G.
1884 TENBY . .	THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S
1885 BRIGHTON . .	THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, E.M.
1886 DARLINGTON AND BISHOP AUCKLAND . .	THE BISHOP OF DURHAM
1887 LIVERPOOL . .	SIR J. A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1888 GLASGOW . .	THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.
1889 LINCOLN . .	THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT- TINGHAM
1890 OXFORD . .	
1891 YORK . .	THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.
1892 CARDIFF . .	THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF
1893 WINCHESTER . .	THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.
1894 MANCHESTER . .	

1895.

THE ANNUAL CONGRESS

WILL BE HELD THIS YEAR AT

STOKE-ON-TRENT.

(Detailed Programme will be issued very soon.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL FOR THE SESSION 1894-5.

President.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF, D.D., F.S.A.; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, D.D.; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.Z.S.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.

ARTHUR CATES, Esq.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,

LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A.

SIR AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, K.C.B.,

D. Litt., F.R.S., P.S.A.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.,
F.R.I.A.J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.,
F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.

E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.,
D.C.L., LL.D.SIR ALBERT WOODS, K.C.M.G., F.S.A.
(*Garter King of Arms*).ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot.,
F.R.G.S.

Honorary Treasurer.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., 16 Red Lion Square, W.C.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W.

Honorary Secretaries.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A., British Museum.

GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., Dalham Villa, Southfields, Wandsworth, S.W.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., C.B., F.S.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

Council.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.,
A.I.C.E.

ALGERNON BRENT, Esq., F.R.G.S.

REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

J. PARK HARRISON, Esq., M.A.

RICHARD HORSEFALL, Esq.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq.

A. G. LANGDON, Esq.

RICHARD DUPPA LLOYD, Esq.,
F.R.Hist.S.

J. T. MOULD, Esq.

W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.

A. OLIVER, Esq.

W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.

R. E. WAY, Esq.

BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

Auditors.

C. DAVIS, Esq.

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

British Archaeological Association.

LIST OF ASSOCIATES.

1895.

*The past-Presidents marked * are permanent Vice-Presidents.*

The letter L denotes Life-Members, and C, Congress Members for the Year.

THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.,

PRESIDENT.

Date of Election.

- L. 1857 AMHERST OF HACKNEY, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, F.S.A., Didington Park, Brandon, Norfolk
- 1865 ARMSTRONG, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Craigside, Rothbury
- 1854 Adams, Colonel G. G., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Acton Green Lodge, Chiswick
- 1890 Addison, Albert, Esq., Portsmouth
- L. 1871 Aldam, William, Esq., Frickley Hall, Doncaster
- I. 1851 Alger, John, Esq., the Public Library, Auchterarder, N.B.
- 1878 Allen, J. Romilly, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., A.I.C.E., 28 Great Ormond Street, W.C.
- L. 1857 Allen, W. E., Esq.
- 1890 American Geographical Society, New York (care of B. F. Stevens, Esq., 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.)
- 1869 Andrews, Charles, Esq., Farnham, Surrey
- 1874 Army and Navy Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1893 Arnold, Edward, Esq., Stoneleigh House, Grove Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
- 1877 Ashby, Thomas, Esq., care of Apsley Smith, Esq., 6 Castle Crescent, Bath Road, Reading
- 1894 Astley, the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield, M.A., St. John's Vicarage, Angell Park, Brixton, S.W.
- 1876 Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1888 BUTE, THE MARQUESS OF, K.T., *Vice-President*,* Mount Stuart, Isle of Bute, N.B.
- L. 1857 BATEMAN, THE RIGHT HON. LORD, Carlton Club, S.W.

- 1872 BAKER, REV. PREB. SIR TALBOT R. B., Bart., Ranston, Blandford
- 1880 BOILEAU, SIR FRANCIS G. M., Bart., Ketteringham Park, Wyndham
- L. 1860 BOUGHTON, SIR CHARLES ROUSE, Bart., *Vice-President*,* Downton Hall, Ludlow
- L. 1860 BRIDGMAN, HON. AND REV. GEO. T. ORLANDO, M.A., The Hall, Wigan
- L. 1874 BROWN, SIR JOHN, Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield
- L. 1878 Babington, Charles C., Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Brookside, Cambridge
- 1885 Bagster, R., Esq., Paternoster Row, E.C.
- 1884 Baker, Ernest E., Esq., Weston-super-Mare
- L. 1876 Bayly, Robert, Esq., Torr Grove, Plymouth
- 1879 Bensly, W. T., Esq., LL.D., Diocesan Registry, Norwich
- L. 1859 Beynon, Richard, Esq., 17 Grosvenor Square, W.
- 1879 Birch, Rev. C. G. R., Brancaster Rectory, King's Lynn
- 1871 Birch, Walter de Gray, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary*, British Museum, and 5 Chatsworth Road, Christchurch Avenue, Brondesbury, N.W.
- 1872 Birmingham Free Libraries, Birmingham
- L. 1882 Blakiston, Rev. R. Milburn, F.S.A., Arundel Lodge, 44 Lansdowne Road, Croydon
- 1861 Blashill, Thomas, Esq., F.Z.S., *Vice-President*, London County Council, Spring Gardens, S.W.
- 1865 Bly, J. H., Esq., Vauxhall, Great Yarmouth
- 1894 Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A., care of Mr. G. E. Stechert, 30 Wellington Street, Strand, W.C.
- 1892 Bowen, Rev. David, B.A., Monkton, Pembroke
- 1872 Braid, Charles, Esq., Braidswood, Linden Park, Tunbridge Wells
- 1874 Bramble, Colonel J. R., F.S.A., Cleeve House, Yatton, Somerset
- L. 1886 Bramley-Moore, Rev. W., 26 Russell Square, W.C.
- 1880 Bravender, Thomas B., Esq., 96 Oakfield Road, Anerley, S.E.
- L. 1883 Brent, Algernon, Esq., F.R.G.S., 12 Mandeville Place, W.
- 1853 Brent, Cecil, Esq., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 37 Palace Grove, Bromley, Kent
- 1875 Brent, Francis, Esq., F.S.A., 6 Tothill Avenue, Plymouth
- 1890 Brighton Free Library, care of F. W. Madden, Esq., Church Street, Brighton
- L. 1875 Brinton, John, Esq., Moor Hall, Stourport
- 1886 Broad, J., Esq., Ashford
- 1861 Brock, E. P. Loftus, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, 16 Red Lion Square, W.C.
- L. 1874 Brooke, Thomas, Esq., F.S.A., Armitage Bridge, Huddersfield
- 1883 Brown, T. Viney, Esq., Dover
- 1885 Brown, J., Esq., C.B., Q.C., F.G.S., 54 Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
- 1856 Brushfield, T. N., Esq., M.D., The Cliff, Budleigh Salterton, Devon
- 1890 Bull, William, Esq., "Motala," 66 New Alma Road, Southampton
- 1880 Bulwer, J. R., Esq., Q.C., 2 Temple Gardens, E.C.

- 1888 Burnard, Robert, Esq., 3 Hillsborough, Plymouth
 1881 Bush, Edward, Esq., The Grove, Alveston, R.S.O., Gloucester
 1881 Bush, John, Esq., 10 St. Augustine's Parade, Bristol
 1892 Bush, Robert C., Esq., 1 Winifred's Dale, Bath
 1892 Bush, Thomas S., Esq., Dale Cottage, Charlcombe, Bath
 L. 1880 Butcher, W. H., Esq.

 1893 Cardiff, The Free Library
 1892 Carpenter, Evan, Esq., The Cottage, Altyre Road, East Croydon
 1888 Cart, Rev. Henry, The Vicarage, Osney Street, N.W.
 1881 Cates, Arthur, Esq., *Vice-President*, 7 Whitehall Yard, S.W.
 1891 Cave-Browne, Rev. J., M.A., Detling Vicarage, Maidstone
 1881 Chaffey-Chaffey, R., Esq., East Stoke House, Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Ilminster
 1855 Chapman, Thomas, Esq., 37 Tregunter Road, West Brompton
 1890 Christ's College Library, Cambridge
 1886 Clark, C. J., Esq., 27 Woodstock Road, Bedford Park, Chiswick, W.
 1869 Cokayne, Andreas Edward, Esq., Bakewell, Derbyshire
 L. 1867 Cokayne, George Edw., Esq., F.S.A., *Norroy King of Arms*,
 Herald's College, E.C.
 1866 Cole, T. H., Esq., 59 Cambridge Road, Hastings
 1888 Collier, Rev. Carus Vale, B.A., Davington, Faversham, Kent
 1893 Collier, Mrs., 6 Chester Square, S.W.
 1879 Colman, J. J., Esq., M.P., Carrow House, Norwich
 1876 Compton, C. H., Esq., *Vice-President*, 33 The Chase, Clapham Common, S.W.
 1863 Cope, Wm. Henry, Esq., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, 12 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1889 Coulard, Christopher L., Esq., Madford, Launceston
 1876 Cramer, F. L., Esq., Holbrook, Erpingham Road, Putney
 1893 Crespi, Dr. Alfred J. H., Wimborne, Dorset
 1861 Creswell, Rev. Samuel Francis, D.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,
 North Repps, S. O., Norfolk
 1844 Cuming, H. Syer, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., 63 Kennington Park Road, S.E.
 1872 Curteis, Rev. Thomas S., F.S.A., Sevenoaks, Kent
 1888 Curtis, Charles, Esq., 28 Baker Street, W.

 L. 1872 DARTMOUTH, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,*
 Patshull, Wolverhampton
 1853 DUCIE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, F.R.S., Tortworth Court, Falfield, Gloucestershire
 1883 DICKESON, SIR RICHARD, Esplanade, Dover
 1884 Davies, W. R., Esq.,
 1878 Dawson, Edward B., Esq., LL.B., Aldcliffe Hall, Lancaster
 L. 1874 Derham, W., Esq., M.A., LL.M., 63 Queensborough Terrace,
 Bayswater, W.
 1891 Detroit Library, care of Mr. B. F. Stevens, 4 Trafalgar Square, W.C.

- 1884 Dix, John W. Esq., Hampton Lodge, Durdham Down,
Bristol
- 1891 Donald, Colin Dunlop, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., 172 St. Vincent
Street, Glasgow
- 1875 EDWARDS, SIR G. W., Sea Walls, Stoke Bishop, Bristol
- 1855 EVANS, SIR JOHN, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.,
F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Hemel Hempstead
- 1893 Elwell, W. R. G., Esq., St. Aubyn, Fulham Park Gardens,
S.W.
- 1894 Evans, Chas. R. J., Esq., Lathom Lodge, 97 Loughborough
Park, S.W.
- 1875 FRANKS, SIR AUGUSTUS W., K.C.B., Litt.D., M.A., F.R.S.,
P.S.A., *Vice-President*, British Museum, W.C.
- L. 1890 Ferguson, Professor John, 13 Newton Place, Glasgow, N.B.
- L. 1879 Ferguson, Richard S., Esq., Lowther Street, Carlisle
- L. 1864 Ferguson, Robert, Esq., Morton House, Carlisle
- L. 1880 Fisher, S. T., Esq., The Grove, Streatham, S.W.
- 1857 Fitch, Robert, Esq., F.S.A., Woodlands, Heigham, Norwich
- 1895 Flower, Arthur S., Esq., 7 Gordon Place, Gordon Square,
W.C.
- L. 1888 Fowler, John, Esq., 16 Kersland Street, Glasgow
- 1887 Fox, Robert, Esq., Vernon House, Ryde
- 1877 Fretton, W. G., Esq., F.S.A., Hearsall Terrace, Chapel Fields,
Coventry
- 1883 Fry, E. W., Esq., St. Martin's House, Dover
- 1880 Fryer, A. C., Esq., Ph.D., M.A., F.C.S., F.R.H.S., 13 Eaton
Crescent, Clifton, Bristol
- 1892 Fuller, George, Esq., Crisp Lodge, 211 Romford Road, Strat-
ford, Essex
- L. 1874 Gainsford, T. R., Esq., Whiteley Wood Hall, Sheffield
- 1894 George, Frank, Esq., 8 Randall Road, Cliftonwood, Clifton,
Bristol
- L. 1881 Gibson, Mrs. James, Castle Bree, Cambridge
- 1877 Glasgow, The Mitchell Library, 21 Miller Street, Glasgow
- L. 1860 Greenhalgh, Thos., Esq., "Highfield," Silverdale, Carnforth
- 1893 Gribble, H. E., Esq., 38 Bedford Row, W.C.
- L. 1891 Gurney, Richard H. J., Esq., Northrepps Hall, Norwich
- L. 1889 HAWKESBURY, LORD, Cockglode, Ollerton, Newark
- 1858 Hammond, Charles E., Esq., Newmarket
- 1852 Hannah, Robt., Esq., 82 Addison Road, W.
- 1864 Harker, John, Esq., M.D., Hazel Grove, near Carnforth
- L. 1890 Harnett, Mrs. F. R., St. Luke's, Maidenhead
- 1891 Harrison, J. Park, Esq., M.A., 22 Connaught Street, W.
- L. 1891 Harvey, H. Fairfax, Esq., Whitehill, Bideford, N. Devon
- 1888 Harvey, James, Esq., Belgrave Villa, Tufnell Park Road, N.

- 1872 Hellier, Colonel T. B. Shaw, 4th Dragoon Guards (care of Messrs. Holt, Laurie, and Co., 17 Whitehall Place, S.W.)
- L. 1844 Heywood, James, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*,*
26 Palace Gardens, Kensington, W.
- 1872 Hicklin, B., Esq., Holly House, Dorking, Surrey
- 1891 Hogg, F. G., Esq., 101 Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1894 Holmes, J. G., Esq., Curzon Park, Chester
- 1880 Hooppell, Rev. R. E., M.A., LL.D., Byers Green Rectory,
Spennymoor
- 1870 Horner, W. S., Esq., 8 Aldgate, E.
- L. 1895 Horniman, F. John, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., Horniman's Museum,
Forest Hill, S.E.
- L. 1863 Horsfall, Richard, Esq., Halifax
- L. 1875 Hudd, Alfred E., Esq., F.S.A., 94 Pembroke Road, Clifton,
Bristol
- 1895 Hull, the Public Library
- 1878 Hughes, H. R., Esq., Kinnel Park, Abergele, North Wales
- L. 1890 Hughes, T. Cann, Esq., M.A., Town Clerk's Office, Manchester
- 1882 Hughes, W. E., Esq., Essington Villa, 89 Alexandra Road,
St. John's Wood, N.W.
- 1853 Hull Subscription Library, Albion Street, Hull
- L. 1866 Hunter, Edward, Esq., Junior Carlton Club, S.W.
- 1863 Irvine, J. T., Esq., 21 St. Stephen's Terrace, Kirkstall, Leeds
- 1879 Jenner, Miss Lucy A., Greenwood, Bishop's Waltham
- L. 1875 Joseph, Major H., 45 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.
- L. 1857 Kerr, Mrs. Alexander, 19 Warwick Road, Earl's Court,
S.W.
- 1888 King, Rev. Herbert Poole, Stourton Rectory, Bath
- L. 1865 Kirchofer, Professor Theodor
- L. 1887 Kitching, John, Esq., Branksome Hall, Darlington
- 1875 Lach-Szyrma, Rev. W. S., M.A., The Vicarage, Barkingside,
Ilford
- 1874 Lacy, C. J., Esq., 28 Belsize Park, N.W.
- L. 1870 Lambert, Colonel George, F.S.A., 10 Coventry Street, W.
- 1894 Lambert, Miss, 10 Coventry Street, W.
- 1895 Lambert, Mr. Chas., 10, Coventry Street, W.
- 1888 Lang, James, Esq., 9 Crown Gardens, Dowanhill, Glasgow,
N.B.
- 1888 Langdon, A. G., Esq., 17 Craven Street, Strand
- L. 1891 Larkin, John, Esq., Delrow, Aldenham, Watford
- 1892 Lawrence, Basil E., Esq., LL.D., 3 Strathray Gardens, South
Hampstead, N.W.
- 1892 Laxton, Mrs., Hartington House, Blomfield Terrace, Ux-
bridge Road, W.
- L. 1873 Leader, J. D., Esq., F.S.A., Moor End, Sheffield
- 1862 Le Keux, J. H., Esq., 64 Saddler Street, Durham
- L. 1881 Lewis, Mrs. S. S., Castle Broe, Cambridge

- L. 1881 Lewis, T. Hayter, Esq., F.S.A., 12 Kensington Gardens Square, W.
 1863 Library of the Corporation of London, Guildhall, E.C.
 1891 Literary and Philosophic Club, 28 Berkeley Square, Bristol
 1887 Lloyd, Richard Dappa, Esq., F.R.Hist.S., 2 Addison Crescent, W.
 1886 Long, Lieut.-Colonel, Woodlands, Congresbury R.S.O.
 L. 1866 Long, Mrs. Caroline,
 1865 Lynam, C., Esq., Stoke-upon-Trent
- L. 1876 MOUNT-EDGCUMBE, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Vice-President*,* Mount-Edgcumbe, Devonport
 L. 1874 MAPPIN, SIR F. J., BART., Thornbury, Rammoor, Sheffield
 L. 1875 Mackeson, E., Esq., 13 Hyde Park Square, W.
 1882 McLaughlin, Major-General Edward, R.A., 1 Stanley Gardens, W.
 1876 Manchester Free Libraries, Manchester
 L. 1863 Marshall, Arthur, Esq., 13 Belsize Avenue, N.W.
 1862 Marshall, W. G., Esq., 72 Bromfelde Road, Clapham, S.W.
 L. 1844 Marshall, Wm. Calder, Esq., R.A., 115 Ebury Street, S.W.
 1884 Matthew, E. B., Esq., 98 Fellows Road, South Hampstead, N.W.
 L. 1879 Maude, Rev. Samuel, M.A., The Vicarage, Hockley, Essex
 1865 Mayhew, Rev. Samuel Martin, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.I.A., *Vice-President*, St. Paul's Vicarage, Bermondsey; 83 New Kent Road, S.E.
 1872 Merriman, Robert William, Esq., Sempringham, Marlborough
 L. 1881 Methold, Frederick J., Esq., F.S.A., Thorne Court, Shimpling, Bury St. Edmund's
 1863 Milligan, James, Esq.,
 L. 1867 Milner, Rev. John, 47 St. Quintin Avenue, W.
 L. 1875 Money, Walter, Esq., F.S.A., Herborough House, Newbury
 1881 Montgomery, A. S., Esq., Busch House, Isleworth
 1884 Morris, Howard C., Esq., 2 Walbrook, E.C.
 1866 Mould, J. T., Esq., 1 Onslow Crescent, South Kensington
 L. 1877 Mullings, John, Esq., Cirencester
- L. 1875 NORFOLK, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, E.M., *Vice-President*,* Arundel Castle and 31 St. James's Square, S.W.
 1881 Nathan, Benjamin C., Esq., Lorano, Atkins Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
 1884 Nesham, Robert, Esq., Utrecht House, Clapham Park, S.W.
 1887 Newton, Colonel W., Hillside, Newark-on-Trent
 1886 Nichols, W. J., Esq., The Warren, South Hill Park, Bromley, Kent
- 1884 Oldham, Mrs., 96 Lexham Gardens, W.
 1889 Oliver, Andrew, Esq., 7 Bedford Row, W.C.
 L. 1881 Oliver, Edward Ward, Esq., 19 Brechin Place, South Kensington, S.W.

1. 1866 PETER, SIR HENRY W., BART., Wimbledon House, Wimbledon, S.W.
 1892 Palfrey, P. P., Esq., 59 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1859 Patrick, George, Esq., *Hon. Secretary*, Dalham Villa, Southfields, Wandsworth, S.W.
 1887 Payne, William, Esq., Woodleigh, The Thicket, Southsea
 1866 Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S. (care of Mr. E. G. Allen, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden)
 1. 1884 Peacock, Thomas F., Esq., Fernlea, High Road, Sidcup
 1. 1866 Pemberton, R. L., Esq., Hawthorn Tower, Seaham
 1893 Penton, E., Esq., F.G.S., 1 Mortimer Street, W., and Bench House, Lyndhurst
 1885 Peter, Claude H., Esq., *Town Clerk*, Craigmore, Launceston
 1871 Phené, J. S., Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., *Vice-President*, 5 Carlton Terrace, Oakley Street, S.W.
 1879 Phillips, Rev. G. W., Peabworth Vicarage, Stratford-on-Avon
 1886 Phillips, H., Esq., 145 Walworth Road, S.E.
 C 1895 Phillips, Herbert, Esq., Sutton Oaks, Macclesfield
 1882 Phillips, John H., Esq., Philosophical and Archæological Society, Scarborough
 1. 1852 Pickersgill, Frederick R., Esq., R.A., Towers, Yarmouth, Isle of Wight
 1. 1883 Pierce, Josiah, Esq., 12 Beaufort Gardens, S.W.
 1881 Pranker, Peter D., Esq., The Knoll, Sneyd Park, Bristol
 1858 Previté, Joseph W., Esq., Oak Lodge, Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.
 1887 Price, Miss M. A., Hooper's Hill House, Margate
 1867 Prichard, Rev. Hugh, Dinam, Gaerwen, Anglesey
 1883 Probyn, Major Clifford, 55 Grosvenor Street, W.
 1889 Prosser, Miss, Mount Pleasant, West Hill, Putney Heath

 1893 Quick, Robert, Esq., 35 Bucklersbury, E.C.

 1. 1863 RIDON, THE MOST HON. THE MARQUESS OF, K.G., G.C.S.I., 9 Chelsea Embankment, S.W.
 1886 Rabson, Richard, Esq., B.A., Hope Cottage, 93 Springfield Road, Preston Park, Brighton
 1883 Radford, D., Esq., Mount Tavy, Tavistock
 1. 1870 Rayson, S., Esq., 32 Sackville Street, Piccadilly, W.
 1891 Renard, E. J., Esq., High House, Old Swinford, Stourbridge
 1882 Rendle, Mrs. Wm. Gibson, Irvine, Balham Park Road, S.W.
 1. 1848 Richards, Thomas, Esq., 47 Holland Road, Kensington, W.
 1. 1866 Roe, Charles Fox, Esq., F.S.A., Litchurch, Derby
 1. 1884 Roget, J. L., Esq., 5 Randolph Crescent, Maida Hill, W.
 1. 1878 Roper, W., jun., Esq., Lancaster
 1882 Routhledge, Rev. Canon, M.A., St. Martin's, Canterbury
 1877 Rowe, J. Brooking, Esq., F.S.A., Castle Barbican, Plympton
 1877 Russell, Miss, Ashiestiel, Gushliels, N.B.

- 1889 Russell, the Rev. James C., D.D., Dunfillan, Dunoon, N.B.
 1873 Rylands, W. Harry, Esq., F.S.A., 37 Great Russell Street, W.C.
 L. 1881 Rylands, T. G., Esq., F.S.A., Highfields, Thelwall, Cheshire
- L. 1888 STAIR, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.T., LL.D., Bargamy
 Castle, Ayrshire
 1892 Seward, Edwin, Esq., 55 Newport Road, Cardiff
 1877 Sheraton, H., Esq., 2 Hightfield Road, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead
 1885 Sibbald, J. G., Esq., Admiralty, S.W.
 1876 Simion, L., Esq., Berlin (care of Asher and Co., 13 Bedford
 Street, Covent Garden)
- L. 1865 Simpson, Rev. W. Sparrow, D.D., F.S.A., *Vice-President*,
 9 Amen Court, E.C.
 1884 Skipwith, Grey H., Esq., 25 Arboretum Street, Nottingham
 1878 Smith, Worthington G., Esq., 121 High Street South, Dun-
 stable, Beds.
 1884 Smith, Jonathan, Esq., 54 Wynnstey Gardens, Kensing-
 ton, W.
 1886 Soames, Captain R., Scaldwell, Northampton
 1888 Sorley, Robert, Esq., 136 Argyle Street, Glasgow, N.B.
 1893 Southport Free Library, Southport
 1867 Stevens, Joseph, Esq., Hurstbourne, Alexandra Road, Reading
- L. 1878 Strickland, Edward, Esq., Bristol
 1892 Sykes, Rev. W. Slater, M.A., Millons, Carnforth
- L. 1877 Talbot, C. H., Esq., Lacock Abbey, Chippenham
 1875 Thompson, E. M., Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., *Vice-President*,
 Principal Librarian, British Museum, W.C.
 1885 Thompson, John, Esq., 43 Wood Street, Peterborough
 1895 Thornley, J. E., Esq., Nether Whitacre, Birmingham
 1886 Tickner, T. F., Esq., 7 Bishop Street, Coventry
 1892 Tiltman, A. Hessel, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., 6 John Street, Bedford
 Row, W.C.
 1891 Touch, George Alexander, Esq., 26 Compayne Gardens, South
 Hampstead, N.W.
 1875 Trappes-Lomax, Mrs., Clayton Hall, Accrington
 1879 Tremlett, Rear-Admiral, Belle Vue, Tunbridge Wells
 1874 Tuke, William Murray, Esq., Saffron Walden, Essex
 1894 Turner, Geo. Hen., Esq., 35 Roslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W.
- L. 1878 WESTMINSTER, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., Grosvenor
 House, W.
 1875 WESTON, SIR JOSEPH, Dorset House, Clifton Down, Bristol
 1845 WOODS, SIR ALBERT, K.C.M.G., C.B., F.S.A., *Garter King of*
Arms, Heralds' College, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
 1860 Wace, Henry T., Esq., F.S.A., Brooklands, Abbey Foregate,
 Shrewsbury
- L. 1873 Wake, Bernard, Esq.
 1889 Walford, Mrs., 120 Finchley Road, Hampstead, N.W.
 1874 Walker, E. Lake, Esq., 29 Prince's Gate, S.W.
 1868 Wallis, Alfred, Esq., F.R.S.L., Regent's Park, Heavitree,
 Exeter

- 1881 Walmsley, Gilbert G., Esq., 50 Lord Street, Liverpool
 1872 Ward, H., Esq., Rodbarton, Penkridge, Staffordshire
 1877 Way, R. E., Esq., 56 Mervan Road, Brixton, S.W.
 1884 Wellby, John H., Esq., 1 Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1894 Wells, Stewart F., Esq., Milestone House, 212 Denmark Hill, S.E.
 L. 1887 Westlake, N. H. J., Esq.,
 1887 Wheeler, Mrs., Hooper's Hill House, Margate
 1891 Williams, Charles J., Esq., 10 Trump Street, E.C.
 1892 Williams, Edw. Jenkin, Esq., M.S.A., 15 Queen Street, Cardiff
 1875 Wilson, C. M., Esq., Waldershaigh, Bolsterstone, near Sheffield
 1884 Winstone, B., Esq., M.D., 53 Russell Square, W.C.
 L. 1882 Wolfe, Miss, High Broom, Crowborough, Sussex
 L. 1881 Wood, C. F., Esq., M.A., Froyle Park, Alton, Hants.
 1885 Wood, Humphrey, Esq., F.S.A., Chatham
 L. 1863 Wood, Richard, Esq., Cotfield, Prestwich, Manchester
 L. 1864 Wood, R. H., Esq., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Penrhos House, Rugby
 1890 Woolcombe, Robt. Lloyd, Esq., LL.D., M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A. (Ireland), 14 Waterloo Road, Dublin
 1890 Worsfold, T. Cato, Esq., Addison House, Balham Hill, S.W.
 L. 1845 Wright, G. R., Esq., F.S.A., Junior Athenæum Club, W.
 1859 Wyatt, Rev. C. F., M.A., Broughton Rectory, Banbury
 1884 Wyon, Allan, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.G.S., *Vice President*, 2 Langham Chambers, Portland Place, W.
 1891 YORK, HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF, D.D., Bishopsthorpe, York
 1876 Yorkshire Philosophical Society, York

Local Members of the Council.

BERKSHIRE	{ W. Money, Esq., F.S.A., Herborough House, Newbury Dr. J. Stevens, Hurstbourne, Alexandra Road, Reading
CHESHIRE	{ H. Sheraton, Esq., 2 Highfield Road, Rock Ferry, Birk- enhead T. Cann Hughes, Esq., M.A., Town Clerk's Office, Manchester
CORNWALL.....	Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrna, M.A.
DERBYSHIRE	A. E. Cokayne, Esq., Bakewell
DEVON	{ F. Brent, Esq., F.S.A., 6 Tothill Avenue, Plymouth Alfred Wallis, Esq., F.R.S.L., Regent's Park, Heavi- tree, Exeter
DURHAM	{ Rev. Dr. Hooppell, M.A., Byers Green, Spennymoor J. H. Le Keux, Esq., 64 Saddler Street, Durham
GLAMORGANSHIRE...	Edwin Seward, Esq., 55 Newport Road, Cardiff
GLASGOW	{ J. Dalrymple Duncan, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot. W. G. Black, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	A. C. Fryer, Esq., Ph.D., M.A., F.C.S., F.R.H.S., 13 Eaton Crescent, Clifton, Bristol
HAMPSHIRE.....	W. Payne, Esq., Woodleigh, The Thicket, Southsea
KENT	Rev. Canon Routledge, M.A., St. Martin's, Canterbury
NORFOLK	{ The Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, F.S.A., Didlington Park, Brandon, Norfolk Rev. C. G. R. Birch, Brancaster Rectory, King's Lynn
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	J. T. Irvine, Esq., 21 St. Stephen's Terrace, Kirk- stall, Leeds
SOMERSETSHIRE ...	{ Col. James R. Bramble, F.S.A., Cleeve House, Yatton E. E. Baker, Esq., F.S.A., Weston-super-Mare
STAFFORDSHIRE ...	C. Lynam, Esq., Stoke-upon-Trent
SURREY	B. Hicklin, Esq., Holly House, Dorking
WARWICKSHIRE ...	W. G. Fretton, Esq., F.S.A., Hearsall Terrace, Coventry
WORCESTERSHIRE...	
YORKSHIRE	John H. Phillips, Esq., Philosophical and Archæologi- cal Society, Scarborough

Honorary Correspondents.

Allis, G., Esq., Bail Gate, Lincoln
 Barrett, R. B., Esq., Towyn, Santos Road, Wandsworth
 Beck, E. W., Esq., 10 Constantine Road, N.W.
 Blair, R., Esq., South Shields
 Beloe, E. M., jun., Esq., King's Lynn, Norfolk
 Bodger, J. W., Esq., Cowgate, Peterborough
 Bond, E. A., Esq., C.B., F.S.A., London
 Bradley, Miss C., Charlotte Place, Mecklenburg Square, W.C.
 Brassington, W. Salt, Esq., F.S.A., Moseley
 Brown, Alderman C., The Folly House, Chester
 Canham, A. S., Esq., Crowland
 Chancellor, F., Esq., Chelmsford
 Clarke, A. E., Esq., The Old Market, Wisbech
 Clutterbuck, Rev. R. H., Penton Mewsey Rectory, Andover
 Cole, H. D., Esq., Winchester
 Colley-March, Dr. H., F.S.A., Rochdale, Lancs.
 Collier, Rev. C. V., Faversham, Kent
 Curtis, J., Esq., Canterbury
 Curtis, T. F., Esq., 67 Frith Street, Soho
 Dallas, James, Esq., Exeter Museum, Exeter
 Davis, Cecil T., Esq., Public Library, Wandsworth, S.W.
 Dawe, Ernest R., Esq., Hatfield Hall, Durham
 Duke, Rev. T. R. H., Stevington Vicarage, Bedford
 Fairbank, Dr., F.S.A., 59 Warrior Square, St. Leonard's
 Forbes, Dr. J. Russell, 93 Via Babuino, Rome
 Frater, Geo., Esq., The Bank, Wrexham
 Gardner, Alexander, Esq., Paisley
 Hance, E. M., Esq., LL.D., School Board Offices, Liverpool
 Irvine, W. Ferguson, Esq., 13 Rumford Road, Liverpool
 Jones, Isaac Matthews, Esq., City Surveyor, Chester
 Knocker, E. Wollaston, Esq., F.S.A., Castle Hill House, Dover
 Lawrence, G. F., Esq., 55 High Street, Wandsworth, S.W.
 Le Bœuf, Rev. T. H., Crowland Vicarage, Lincolnshire
 Macmichael, J. H., Esq., High Roothing, Essex
 Macdonald, Richard, Esq., Curraghmore, Portlaw, Ireland
 Morris, Rev. Canon Foxley, Witney Rectory, Oxon.
 Nicholson, J. Holme, Esq., M.A., Wilmslow, Cheshire
 Owen, Rev. H. T., Valle Crucis Abbey, Llangollen
 Payne, G., Esq., F.S.A., The Precincts, Rochester
 Peacock, E., Esq., F.S.A., Bottesford Manor, Brigg, Lincolnshire
 Quick, R., Esq., The Museum, Forest Hill
 Rimmer, A., Esq., Crooke House, Chester
 Robinson, F. J., Esq., Gosling's Bank, Fleet Street, E.C.
 Rowbottom, G. H., Esq., Manchester and Salford Bank, Manchester
 Sanders, Rev. F., Hoylake, Birkenhead
 Saunders, W. H., Esq., High Street, Portsmouth
 Swann, Miss, 141 Woodstock Road, Oxford
 Sykes, Rev. Slater, 27 Havelock Road, Sheffield
 Wells, Stewart F., Esq., Milestone House, Denmark Hill
 Williams, F. H., Esq., Chester
 Wilkinson, J. P., Esq., City Surveyor's Office, Manchester
 Winslow, Rev. W. Copeley, D.D.
 Wood, J. M., Esq., 113 Balfour Road, Highbury, N.
 Wright, W. Aldis, Esq., M.A., Cambridge.
 Wright, W. H. K., Esq., The Free Library, Plymouth
 Yates, G. C., Esq., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester

Honorary Foreign Members.

Arbellot, M. L'Abbé, Limoges
 Ardant, Monsieur Maurice, Limoges
 Boutelou, Don Claudio, Seville
 Bover, Don Joaquin Maria, Minorca
 Brassai, Professor Samuel, Klausenberg, Transylvania
 Brugsch-Bey, H., Gratz
 Cara, Signor Gaetano, Cagliari
 Carrara, Professor, Spalatro
 Cassaqui, Monsieur Poncin, Seraings-sur-Meuse, near Liège
 Cesnola, General Luigi Palma di, New York
 Chalon, M. Rénier, *President of the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium*
 Brussels
 Coste, Monsieur, Marseilles
 Courval, Le Vicomte de, au Château de Pinon, near Chavignon
 Dassy, Monsieur, Marseilles
 Delisle, Monsieur Léopold, Hon. F.S.A., Paris
 Delgado, Don Antonio, Madrid
 Durand, Monsieur Antoine, Calais
 Dubosc, Monsieur, St.-Lo, Normandy
 Dupont, Monsieur Gustave, Caen
 Dupont, Monsieur Lecointre, Hon. F.S.A., Poitiers
 Fillon, Monsieur Benjamin, Fontenay-le-Comte
 Forbes, Dr. J. Russell, Rome
 Formaville, Monsieur H. de, Caen
 Gestoso, Señor Don José, Seville
 Habel, Herr Schierstein, Biberich
 Hefner von Alteneck, Herr von, Munich
 Hildebrandt, Herr Hans, Stockholm
 Jones, T. Rupert, Esq., F.R.S.
 Klein, Professor, Mainz
 Köhne, Baron Bernhard, St. Petersburg
 Lenoir, Monsieur Albert, Paris
 Lindenschmidt, Dr. Ludwig, Mainz
 Mowat, Mons. Robert, Paris
 Nilsson, Professor, Lund
 Reichensperger, Monsieur, Trèves
 Richard, Monsieur Ad., Montpellier
 De Rossi, Commendatore, Rome
 Da Silva, Chevalier J., Lisbon
 Spano, The Canon Giovanni, Cagliari
 Stephens, Professor, Copenhagen
 Vassallo, Dr. Cesare, Malta

PUBLICATIONS EXCHANGED WITH

- The Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, London, W.
 The Royal Archæological Institute, 20, Hanover Square, W.
 The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, the Museum, Gloucester
 The Cambridge Antiquarian Society.—Care of Dr. Hardcastle, Downing College, Cambridge
 The Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society, Derby
 The Kent Archæological Society, The Museum, Maidstone
 The Somersetshire Society of Antiquaries, Taunton
 The Sussex Archæological Society, The Castle, Lewes
 The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum, Queen Street, Edinburgh
 Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 11, Rue Ravenstein, Brussels
 The Society of Antiquaries, The Castle, Newcastle-on-Tyne
 The Wiltshire Archæological Society, Devizes
 The Cambrian Archæological Association, 4 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
 The Powys-land Club, care of T. Simpson Jones, Esq., Gungrog, Welshpool.
 The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 7 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin
 The Royal Dublin Society, Kildare Street, Dublin
 The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., U.S. America.
 The Library, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C., U.S. America
 And sent to—
 The University Libraries (4).—Care of G. W. Eccles, Esq., 96 Great Russell Street, W.C.
 The Copyright Office, British Museum.
-



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1895.

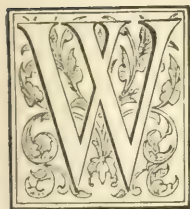
THE EARLY OCCUPANTS

IN THE VICINITY OF

THE MERSEY, MORECAMBE BAY, AND MANCHESTER.

BY DR. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A., V.P.

(Read at the Manchester Congress, 1894.)



WHEN Mr. Whitaker wrote his *History of Manchester* he laid the real foundation-stone of British archæology. Uniting, as he did, the most diligent plodding with acute observation and enormous breadth of mind, he dispersed the very natural popular idea that this island was held by savages till the Romans came. I use the word savages instead of barbarians, as the classical nations were in the habit of applying the latter term to other nations even of high civilisation, who simply differed from them in religions, customs, and in blood. As, for instance, those around Rome; who, however, were no sooner conquered and amalgamated with the Romans than, through their superior mental and legislative powers, they acquired the reins of regal sway over Rome itself. In our dictionaries "savage" and "barbarian" are synonymous.

So far from Britain being in a state of savagery prior to the Roman conquest, Mr. Whitaker and others have

shown that both in construction and names the great roadways of this island were *pre-Roman*. It will be readily admitted that making and maintaining roads was a primal and permanent evidence of civilisation, as these points included engineering, intercourse, commerce, and systematic labour. Indeed, it is a general opinion that Roman civilisation itself was based upon the making and maintaining roads, as it will be admitted that nineteenth century civilisation also is.

Mr. Whitaker was not alone in these ideas. Writers of the highest ability, as Mr. Clutterbuck, Mr. Timmins, and others, express themselves emphatically to the same effect. I will not trouble you with that which, however valuable, you all know through Mr. Whitaker's works, beyond saying that he refers to the settlement of two tribes, the Seguntii and the Setantii. These tribes Mr. Whitaker describes as Gaulish ; the name of one of them indicates an Italian origin. They appear to have had a settlement at the mouth of the Dee.

At the opening of the Ship-Canal it need hardly be asked of Manchester if commercial highways, whether by land or water, are evidences of civilisation, commerce, engineering science, and mental power practically achieved. With all the present scientific acquirements, that Canal, grand and valuable, is small in the history of canals. The canals of Asia were extensive ; Babylonia still bears abundant evidence of such works in connection with the Euphrates. Persian engineers cut a canal across the isthmus at the foot of Mount Athos, to let the fleet of Xerxes pass. The course by Appii Forum, over the Pontine Marshes, was by a canal. The great canals of the Lake Moeris, recently brought under notice, the Suez Canal, and the plans for that at Panama, attest the value and extent of such works. Whether by such communications or by roads, the great nations of a high civilisation, of remote antiquity, anteceded us. But if this Canal is small in canal history, it will hold its own in promoting commerce and intercommunication between Manchester and the maritime world. In the wake of such commerce abundance and prosperity have always figured.

The Roman appropriation and adaptation of such works was everywhere *the same*. Mr. E. B. James, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford, states, "the great highway from Asia Minor to the cities of Persia, which crossed the Zeugma (ζεύγμα) of the Euphrates", "though improved and strengthened by the Romans when their power was established through the whole of Mesopotamia, was probably laid down on the lines which were in use at the time of the Seleucid princes". This is supported by Merivale and others.

As an illustration of the civilising tendency of such ways of communication, the highway just mentioned bore the remarkable title of the "Road of Peace" ("Zeugma Latinæ Pacis iter"). Even the Roman military roads had peace for their object, and roads and ways of commerce have been the greatest civilisers of the world.

On what ground, then, can Britain be excepted? Or was Britain an enchanted isle where naked and untaught savages produced, for mere amusement, works of art without civilisation, played the game of commerce without having any in reality, and made elaborate roads merely to burn each others' wigwams? These roads were no merely tracks. They were good barrel-roads, and in swampy districts either raised to a safe level or paved. They had very peculiar characteristics. A few words from one writer may suffice. Mr. Robert Clutterbuck says: "These British roads are so totally distinct from the Roman causeways which succeeded them, that it is surprising that so many persons should confound these works." He then describes them as differing from the Roman ways by "running through woods or winding up the sides of hills"; as being "hardly ever drawn in straight lines", and having a peculiar feature "of being divided, during their course, into several branches running parallel with the original road". He then enumerates the British roads as "the two Watling Streets, the Ermine Street, the Ickniel Street, the Ikemin Street, the Rykniel Street, the Foss, and the Saltways." Watling Street was direct for Manchester as *Mancunium*.

Cæsar describes many roads of commerce on the Continent with bridges, which, from their positions and

localities, were clearly in the commercial lines of British traffic, and refers to the maritime importance of Kent and Sussex, that is, the South-Eastern part of Britain. Some of these roads can still be traced. In all such works the ancients were before us in skill as they were in time. Even Caesar, when he built his celebrated bridge over the Rhine, was antedated by Alexander, who bridged over the Euphrates by the Zeugma above referred to.

One of the features described of these early roads of Britain is, that, when occasion required, they were deeply cut.

There is one part of Europe where the *pre*-Roman roads are so exactly like the old roads of Britain that the description of these latter by Whitaker, Clutterbuck, Timmins, etc., would be precisely applicable to them.

These roads are in central Italy, and there is one even in Rome itself, which, from the exit from the walls having fallen into disuse, has never been molested. They are so totally unlike the Roman roads that Mr. Clutterbuck's observation quoted above may well be applied to Italy, in which he says, "It is surprising that so many persons should confound these works."

The greatest authority on ancient Italy mentions this road. Mr. Dennis says: "The earliest works in Rome are of Etrurian construction; this is admitted by all as to the enormous masonry; but there is also an example of an Etrurian road. It is little known, not being used for carriages. It leads from the Via Cupa. It is the oldest road near Rome, is cut through the rock to a depth of 20 ft., and, from being unused, remains with its original Etrurian features unaltered." Describing a road near Fiesole, he states: "This marks the site of an ancient gate, and in the road below it are the remains of the old pavement—not of polygonal blocks, as used by the Romans, but of large rectangular flags, furrowed transversely on account of the steepness of the road. Its dissimilarity to the Roman pavement, etc., induces me to consider it of Etruscan antiquity."

I have entered fully into this subject before the Association in London, so that I need hardly say more

than that both the descriptions given by others and my own surveys show almost counterpart roads recurring frequently in Italy and in Britain.

But this is almost to assume an early Italian origin for the roads in Britain, and, if so, there should be attendant features to support the idea.

In my Paper read at Oxford, I showed that along these old roads in Britain (I avoid the term British roads, which might be thought to mean Keltic) were some very peculiar words and expressions, which were neither Keltic, Roman, nor Saxon, the very meanings of which had been lost by the people who used them, that they consistently adhered to the roads and could be traced from one extremity of the island to the other.

In a Paper subsequently read by me before the Royal Society of Literature, I followed these words and found some of them still in use in Central Italy, and some also in Scandinavia.

In this I was not alone, Professor Donaldson, of Cambridge, traced some of the words, as well as the people who used them, from Scandinavia and from Britain along what he describes as a zone of longitude, to central Italy, and Professor Huxley identifies a people who were mobile between Britain and Italy.

Along the same route I have discovered similar works, both in construction and in fictile ware, to those in Britain. And the very people that Professor Donaldson describes had an important stronghold and settlement at the intersection of some of the old roads above mentioned near High Cross, barely 50 miles from Manchester. They were known as the Vennones, and appear to have retained their independence free from Roman conquest in the dense Forest of Arden, through which some of these early roads ran. The names of their settlements can be traced along the old trade route through Europe to Italy.

The ancient roads so far described, it need hardly be said, pass by or near Manchester, if not, indeed, through the city by means of those curious parallel branches described by Mr. Clutterbuck, and we are thus brought face to face with the subject, as these roads, as a matter

of course, were traversed by the Vennonese, and the roads extended to the Tyne and Humber. The great ways of traffic to the now called Bristol Channel, and to the Irish Sea, by way of the Mersey and the Dee, are described by the writers referred to; and each intersection of such roads, as I have shown in former Papers, became an entrepôt for exchange of the commerce of these ways. The resting-places still bearing Scandinavian words indicating such to have been the case.

In a Paper read by me before the British Association at Leeds, three years ago, I showed a *pre-Roman* commercial occupation of Britain, and, from the contests the Romans evidently had with a people who persistently invaded the Eastern seaboard, as mentioned in the *Notitia*, clearly by a people who suffered in their commerce through the Romans.

The Senones, who had a strong settlement near Oxford, Sinodun, and who were settled in Scotland at Dun Sinan, had also a powerful settlement in or near the Isle of Anglesea. All their settlements, also, were at the intersection of those ancient roads, and they, as well as the Vennones, had, no doubt, their trade intercourse along these roads, and necessarily in the vicinity of Manchester itself.

Both these tribes were connected with Italy, either by nationality or alliance—my impression is by both. Both were implacably hostile to the Romans, the Senones being finally annihilated in their attacks on Rome, as an Italian nation, and driven over the Alps. They are said, historically, to have left their Northern settlements to attack Rome, which, under Brennus, they pillaged. They were defeated at Sentinum, with great slaughter. They then joined the Latins, Umbrians, and Etrurians against Rome, but were destroyed, B.C. 283, by Cornelius Dolabella, as an Italian nation, and the survivors driven out of Italy. Their settlements, like those of the Vennones, can be traced along the old trade route through Germany. Both tribes then went northwards.

The Vennones were assigned by historians to the Rætian Alps, but that is the very place the Etruscans took refuge in after final defeat by the Romans.

The story is inconsistent without the British facts. Both these tribes had, evidently to escape the Romans, settled in Gaul, Germany, and Britain.

They appear to have both opposed Cæsar in the war against the Veneti which I have fully referred to in the Journal. Indeed, it is not improbable that the Veneti and Vennones were one people, hence their bitter hostility to the Romans. Knowing that to remain in Britain was to court slavery or death, they appear to have returned to Italy to foment the civil disturbances, and it was probably policy on the part of the Romans, in addition to the strength of their fastness in the forest of Arden, that saved the Vennones from destruction.

It is remarkable that the word Arden seems to follow the Vennones in their various settlements, and can be traced along the trade route, as explained in the paper read before the Royal Society of Literature; thus, side by side with their settlements, we have Ard, Arden, Ardenmes, Ards, Ardea, and Arda, near their various settlements in Europe; and here, in Arbury, etc. The old Italian *ardente*; Latin, *ardens*, burning. These settlements being always near woods, the inference seems clear that their locations were for smelting; hence their commerce in Britain seems clear; they were, in short, traders in metal, abundant on the west coast. The name Sen, indicative of the Senones, can also be traced through Britain and Gaul to Central and Eastern Italy.

Polybius (ii, 17) refers to the nations north of the Alps crossing the mountains for trade with Central Italy. Amongst those of the Senones, who had not their locations on the east coast of Italy, the mobile ones are stated to have had their property in cattle and metal, gold being prominent. Although they conquered and took the Tuscan cities, they would not live in them, as they were traffic trade-route men.

There was, among other features common to the Central Italians, one which the Vennones and Latins held in great importance. The representation of animal forms, whether deities or otherwise, of colossal dimensions; amongst these, as I have shown in my Paper on *pre-Roman* works, read before the Association, were the vast

serpent, as at Alba Lunga, and the dragon as at Mont Dragoné, almost due east from the vast serpent.

In my Paper at Winchester, last year, I showed the bifurcation of the tin trade route to the Isle of Wight, where the stone of exchange, agreeing with that on the banks of the Loire, still remains; the great chamber at Loch Mariaquer being still called the "table of the merchants." Crucibles have been discovered along these routes, indicating smelting at the dépôts, probably by analysts. In the great wood at Anderida, in Sussex, is an enormous figure of a man. In Berkshire, on the same route, the well known White Horse; but the still more vast sculptured dragon near it has escaped notice. In Dorsetshire, on the same route, is another vast figure of a man; and at Cambridge was a third, on such a branch traffic route, and two cut as crosses in Oxfordshire, besides several others.

The horse at Westbury is, in a tradition I have, said to have been adapted from an ancient figure.

That such vast semblances, whether natural or artificial, were highly esteemed by the people of the south is clear from the proposal to sculpture Mount Athos into the figure of Alexander, and from the enormous dimensions of the Greek deities.

As there is no nation whose works of such dimensions still exist, except those in Latium and in Tuscany; and as it appears that the settlers here were from the older tribes of Italy, it is not unreasonable to assume that the figures in Britain are the work of these tribes. They exhibit knowledge of proportion, great care in the selection of sites, and immense forethought in choosing positions whence the objects could be seen at enormous distances.

Beyond these points, other indications from settlement, and weapons and implements of similar type found in their localities, accentuate these views.

Thus, at Holyhead and at the figure in Sussex, similar remains have been found in stone and bronze. In Holyhead, Winchester, the Isle of Wight, crucibles; also, as to habitations, at Oxford (*i.e.*, the district of the White Horse), and in the Isle of Wight. Cromlechs and mono-

liths, sometimes one or other, sometimes both, are at Holyhead, Winchester, the Isle of Wight, and in Oxfordshire, and in Kent. Great woods are known to have abounded in most of these districts.

The same nomenclature can be followed throughout the same tracks and along the roads; the commerce was historically known, and the same uniform hatred of the Roman arms exhibited.

The names around here, such as Morecambe—*i.e.*, the long winding, or the great winding; capped by the Great Orme's Head—*i.e.*, the head of the great winding serpent or worm; the smaller serpent's or worm's head; Orme's Kirk, the temple of the serpent; all speak of foreign residents and a mythological worship common to Etruria and Scandinavia.

The word "maen" has been argued to be a sign or mound, an erect stone, etc., in the name Mancetta. If correctly so, it may be equally whether Manchester be derived from it, or from the camp of the Isle of Man off the coast; the word, perhaps, being applicable to the raised mound or Tinwall, and so given to the island. The latter would be Scandinavian, the former Keltic. I by no means dwell upon these, as they have been debated by antiquarians, beyond pointing out that at least they are not English, Roman, or Saxon.

Time does not permit going into details upon the objects found. Some I am able to exhibit; others, if it is wished, I can explain. But if the use of "maen" is correct, it indicates that at Manchester was a great road-sign, cross, stela, or emblem, in earth or stone, as at Man-Cetter and the Isle of Man; *i.e.*, Manchester, or the camp by the great sign.

It was a custom with eastern and southern nations to place way-marks along their great roads. These were succeeded by the Roman milestones. The Etruscans especially did so, and an Etruscan way-mark may have stood where Manchester now flourishes. I think this a more probable derivation than Man, a district. The mountain called the Old Man, at Coniston in your county, is clearly a corruption of the term "maen" or landmark. Its height, 2,633 ft., shows that it was so.

A stela, apparently Etruscan, being like some near Orvietto, till lately stood at Tyneosydd, Llantrisant, in the Isle of Anglesey, and was moved by the owner to Trescawen, which name seems a Welsh corruption of the word "Etruscan".

A remarkable coincidence occurs in support of the deductions stated. While I have been pursuing, with great trouble, these investigations, other workers, unknown to each other and to myself, have been arriving at similar conclusions from other standpoints and other evidences. Thus Professor Donaldson arrived at similar conclusions on philological grounds; Mr. Evans, of the Ashmolean Museum, has been tracing the fine art productions uniting Britain and Italy in ancient times; Mr. Whitaker and others, by roads, camps, and earthworks; and I by personal inspection of the monuments in Britain, Scandinavia, Gaul, Germany, and Italy; their legends and their lost words.

My observations on the "Vitrified Forts", in the *Journal* for 1894, p. 193, as well as the views now expressed, are much strengthened by the repeated discoveries of "slag" in the excavations on The Hon. Owen Stanley's estates at Holyhead, and along many of these old roads. The slag is of the nature of that found by me at the vitrified forts.





BRITISH FOOTPRINTS :
THE OLDHAM MASTER-KEY.

BY SAMUEL ANDREW, ESQ.

(*Read at the Manchester Congress, 1894.*)



GIVEN a tract of country lying four square, at each corner of which was once a Roman station, or other evidence of Roman or præ-Roman occupation. A Roman road, known as the Second Iter of Antonine, which was our great trade-route in Roman times, runs diagonally through this tract, and branch-roads, or reeds, or tracks, as well as some other principal roads, supposed to be of British or Roman origin, run along the hill-sides, across the valleys, or sometimes through the brook-courses, giving the map of this district (which I here present) something of the appearance of the wards of an intricate master-key. No note is here taken of county divisions, the corners of four different counties, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, being knit together near the centre of the tract.

In Roman times this square plot was peopled by a portion of that redoubtable tribe of Britons called the Brigantes. In modern times several great towns have risen into importance here, chiefly within the present century, covering what were once the haunts of the primeval inhabitant. Oldham, the great cotton-spinning centre, with its forest of chimney-stalks, and its 200,000 inhabitants, is the largest town in the group, among which may be mentioned Ashton-under-Lyne, Dukinfield, Hyde, Stalybridge, Mossley, Saddleworth, Middleton, Bury, Heywood, and at the outlying corners of the plan, portions of Rochdale, Glossop, and Manchester. For the reason that Oldham lies wholly within the limits of the

map, and in this sense is the town of greatest magnitude, for the purposes of this paper I have called the "Master-Key", which I am about to explain after the name of Oldham.

Such a tract as I have here described is portrayed on a section of the Ordnance Survey Map, No. 88, published in the year 1893 by the Board of Agriculture. To those who know the district, marks may still be found here of almost every wave of civilisation which has reached the British Isles. In some places it is as thickly populated to-day as any part of Britain, not excepting London; in others it is but sparsely peopled, the hilltops and moorlands having been deserted as places of habitation, except by moor-game and other wild birds and animals, perhaps since the time of the ancient Briton. Spurs of the Pennine chain shoot up in the higher portion of the district under review, and the whole forms a small part of the country described by Professors Rhys, Boyd Dawkins, and others, as the abode of the Kymry, who for two centuries stood as a wall of fire between the east and west, resisting unto death, from a sense of right to the soil, the encroachments of the all-conquering Teuton.

I have chosen to call this plot the "Master-Key" because, as a native of the district, and knowing many of the highways and byways, which I have followed like the wards in a key, I have had facilities for learning and studying the natural history of some hundreds of names of fields, places, hills, valleys, and streams, which classified and aggregated, and their meanings deciphered, may form the means of unlocking the door of local history in other parts of the four counties named, if not throughout the United Kingdom. I am not aware that this subject has been previously treated in this manner, and it may, therefore, be expected that many imperfections will be found in the details of my scheme; but I shall be satisfied if, as a whole, it helps to dispel the gloom which broods over the early history of our common country.

Before describing the wards of my "Master-Key", it may be stated that the natives of the district still speak a strong vernacular, rich in archaic words, some of which may have been in use since the time that language was

first used in these Isles, a *patois* which has found apostles in such men as Collier, Bamford, Waugh, Brierley, Laycock, and others, whose songs and tales form a distinct branch of literature. These archaic words illustrate what may be called the permanent conditions of mankind,—babyhood, childhood, and adolescence,—the household, the playground, and everyday life; words of love and hate, of prowess and fear, of endearment and sorrow, of pastime and common need; words which seem to have a charmed life, for, despite the persecution, obloquy, and neglect of centuries, they have survived in these parts cult and creed, and even nation and race.

Perhaps the most curious feature about these words is that we do not generally find them in an English dictionary; and if we want their original form and meaning they can only be got from Keltic sources, though the Kelts were supposed to have been swept out from this district in the seventh century, over twelve centuries ago. Such generally accepted words as *buss* (a kiss), *cayther* (a cradle), *crecas* (measles), will serve as examples by the way; but it would require a lengthy chapter to do justice to this subject. Such words as the three here named smack of the nursery, and I suppose it was from the mothers and babes who were left behind in the general drift of the ancient Kymry that we inherited such monumental terms.

Now to the “Master-Key”. The tract selected covers some 120 square miles, forming, perhaps, a sufficient gathering-ground on which to base my theory. In addition to the evidence of living speech, besides Roman or British camps and roads, we find scattered over the district named other accredited relics of the Romans and Britons. The leading ward in my “Master-Key” is, therefore, entitled “Finds” (No. 1 on map), as being the most tangible proof of Roman and British occupation. At some half-dozen different places have been found Roman coins of silver, bronze, and brass; at another different place was found a silver arm of the statue of Victory with Roman inscription; at another an earthenware Roman patera. On different hill-tops, twenty to thirty in number, though not all quite within the scope of this

map, have been found flint chippings, the remains of ancient workshops of the stone age. In some half-dozen different places the ancient Briton has left us polished stone celts as specimens of his working tools. At one place, different from the rest, was found a quartz arrow-head as a weapon of warfare: at another, a stone hammer with earthenware urn and calcined bones; at another, a bronze celt. At several other places have been found reputed traces of prehistoric metal-workers. These evidences may surely be accepted as certificates that the area selected was the genuine home of a past civilisation.

The next leading ward in my Master-Key, though not as tangible as the last, shall be named, "Survivals" (No. 2 on map). By this I do not mean that any system of a bygone economy still survives and is still in operation, but only that it survives on parchment, traces having been found in old deeds relating to the district of the existence of a social policy deemed by competent authorities to be prehistoric. The "survivals" consist, then, of evidences of the land system known as the "open field". Common pasture, common and scattered ownership and terrace cultivation, are said to be the three leading features and evidences of the "open field". Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, as well as many places in England, furnish proof that the "open field" dates back to a period when the people were reckoned in tribes and clans. There are many instances in the parishes of Oldham, Saddleworth, and Ashton, the three most important centres in the district named, of the "open field" system; and in Oldham and Ashton parishes there still remain on the surface of the land, if I mistake not, actual specimens of the relics of terrace-cultivation. This terrace-cultivation is said to be the oldest system of agriculture in the world. It finds its highest perfection in the tea-garden terraces of China, and connects us with one of the remotest races of mankind.

Besides these survivals of an ancient land system, we have other survivals, which I may call survivals of ancient custom. Mr. Fraser, in his book entitled "The Golden Bough", proves conclusively that "May e'en" customs are a relic of ancient tree worship.

These customs still survive in this district, or did survive till within living memory. Another ancient custom, very popular, is the baking of cakes of oatmeal and some sweet substance, generally treacle, in November in each year. In this district, the name of these cakes is "tharcake", or, more properly, the *Har cake*. These cakes, therefore, bring down to us from time immemorial, if I am right in my assumption, the name of an ancient deity *Har*, which Sharon Turner tells us is synonymous with Odin. The custom is probably, therefore, a survival of some pagan rite, and is as greatly in favour with boys and girls of to-day as ever it could have been with those of any other age. I should not wonder if the ancient pagans worshipped the November fog under the name *Har*, but this requires some proof.

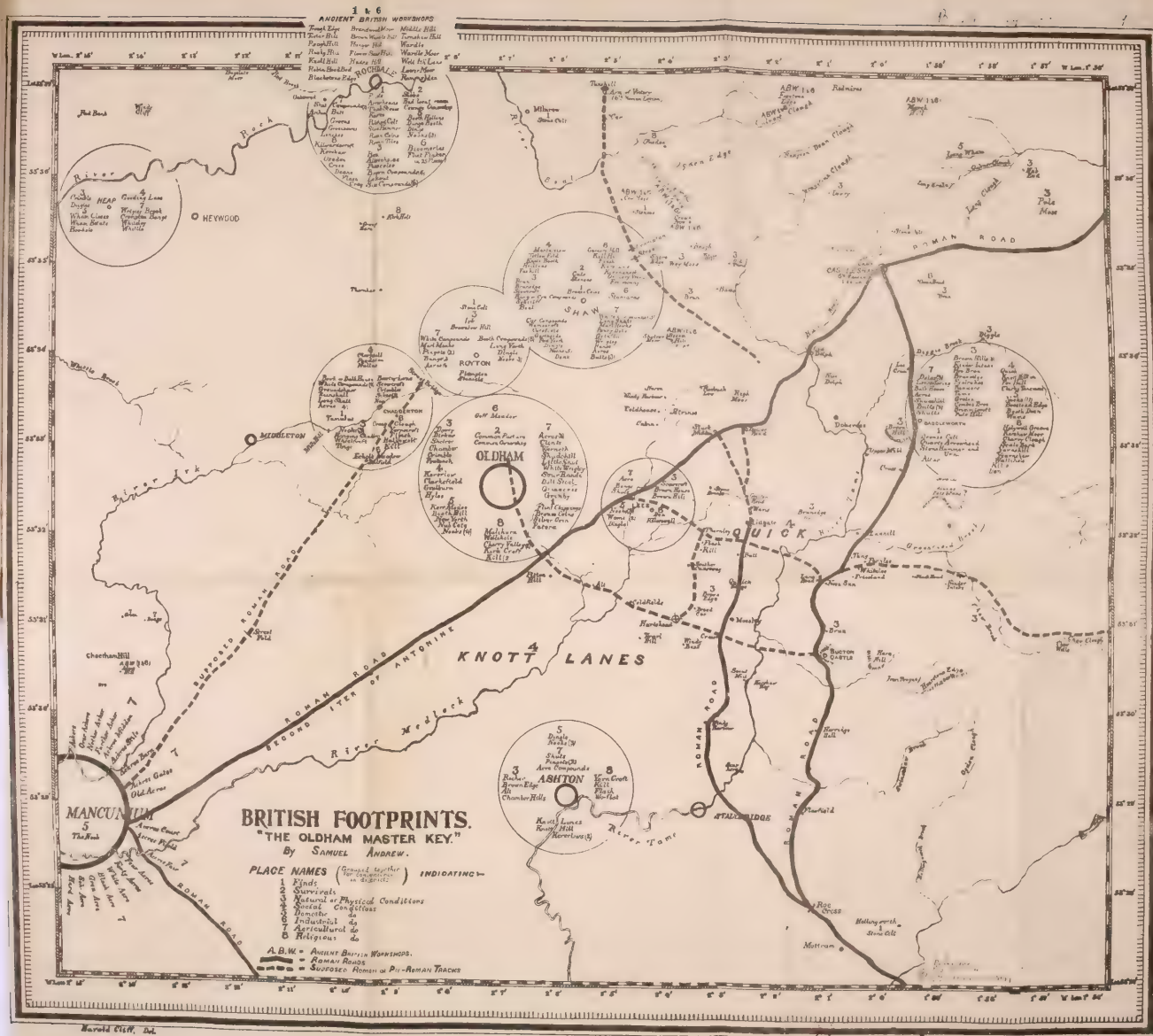
The next ward in my key, No. 3, is the local names of hills and streams or natural and physical objects, as, for example: Many of the hills seem to enjoy a generic name, either in a simple or compound form; the root-word, which is traceable to Indo-European sources, is *brun*, and in some cases it has retained, evidently from primitive times, its almost original form, and still retains it. Over twenty small hills, fairly scattered over the map, are known by this name in some form, as: Brun, Brunedge, Brown Edge, Brown Hill, etc. Brun or bron, signifying the human breast, hence a hill of that shape is a perfectly natural transition in the mind of the simple barbarian.

We have also a great number of "Shol" place-names. I am told its equivalent *sciol*, *siol*, pronounced *shol*, is used in South Wales to indicate head or skull. We find the word here in various stages of dissolution, *scole*, *show* and *scow*, *chew*, *chow*, and *choo*.

Among names of streams we have Tame (*Tam*, a river), Beal, Irk, Medlock (*Medelache*, the full brook); and out of a dozen place-names indicating natural or physical conditions, we find three Dowrys (*Dwr-y*, the place of water—almost pure Celtic).

In this group, *siche* or *sike* place-names have a peculiar interest. It seems likely to me that this word is a relic of the old lake-dweller. The modern Welsh word *sych*—

as *sychmant*—signifies a dry brook course ; and, curiously enough, I find these *sike* place-names generally near a stream. We have some half-dozen in the Oldham district, and seven or eight in Rochdale, as will be seen from the map. They seem to me to indicate a dry place in some watery region—as Kalwet Sike, Okeden Sike, Stenrisiche, etc. I have also found these place-names near Preston, on the Ribble, and on the banks of the Wye in Derbyshire, and I find mention of them in great numbers in the Whalley deeds. Few, perhaps, will doubt that the three wards just named ought to belong to any key which pretends to unlock the door of our earliest history ; but I must ask you to go a little further, and look for and expect to find in certain words and names of places indications of other conditions besides natural or physical. And so I have selected a group showing the social conditions of the primeval word-using inhabitant, and made it to form the next ward, No. 4, in my Master-Key. To prevent fantastic tricks being played with the imagination in dealing with such uncertain things as place-names, we ought to look for a scientific datum ; and here, if I mistake not, we find it in the science of origins. I suppose all our great ethnologists trace back the history of mankind as far, at all events, as the *sib*, under which system clans or tribes settled on the land and dwelt together in a kind of brotherhood or kinship. In the district under review, abounding, as it does, with reliable evidences of a primeval people, for scientific proof of traces of the *sib*, I should appeal to the living language of the people, which is, I think, taken in conjunction with certain place-names, sufficient to indicate the social condition of a former ancient people. The word I rely on has already been mentioned, and is one which still retains its ancient form and meaning ; it is the word *sib*, signifying blood relationship ; that this word was once in common use, I have but to name Waugh and Collier, of local fame, and Spencer and Chaucer, of a wider reputation. The word *sib* survives in local records, as at Rochdale, on the map. It is not sufficient for my case, however, to prove that the word *sib*, in general use over England, was used in the district under review.



What we want to find is a series of place-names in the district which convey the same idea. In the district under review we have a large estate crossed by the Second Iter of Antonine and another Roman road. There are several surviving proofs of the open field on the estate, with other primeval evidences; and this place has been known by the common people from time immemorial as *Wick*—it is now written *Quick*; and this I take to be the same word as the Cornish *gvic*, which Dr. Schrader gives, indicating settlement on common, arable, or pasture land—the *sib* village. Adjoining this estate we have another large stretch of land known as Knott Lanes, which you will see about the middle of the map; and, within a small radius from this point, we have quite a series of place-names of the Knot tribe: two Knott Hills, Knott Mill, Knott Booth, Knott Fold, etc. Until Dr. Schrader's book appeared, there were many guesses at what the meaning of *Knot* could be. Dr. Schrader shows, from Indo-European sources, that this word *Knot* evidently indicates blood relationship. He gives the old High German *Chnuot*, with which, no doubt, our *Knot* is synonymous, and says such words as *Chnuot*, the Gothic *Knōths*, and the Greek *gnotos*, may have been used in the primeval period in reference to the *sib* as a community of kinsmen. There are groups of other place-names in the district which probably indicate social or domestic conditions, as, e.g., *Yerth* (*Yrth*), or *Garth*, and some *Tate* and *Clark* compounds.

If social conditions are indicated in words and place-names, we may naturally expect to find evidences of domestic conditions; and so the next ward in my key, No. 5, is formed of groups of words which convey some idea of the home and hearth of the primeval inhabitant. That he was a troglodyte is a historic fact which none will dispute. We learn that relics of underground dwellings are still to be found in various parts of Scotland and Ireland. These places were known under the name of *weems*, and Mr. MacRitchie shows the origin of the word to be from the Gaelic *uaim* or *uam*, signifying womb. In the district under review, scattered over an area a few miles square, indicated on the map, we find

some half-dozen places known to-day by the name of *woms*, which I take to have been original earth wombs, or living-places, though the ground has been so disturbed as to efface all traces of human habitation—only the name remains. Among another group of place-names, about six in number, in as many different places, I find the place-name *Tong* or *Tung* and *Dunk*. Dr. Schrader is very interesting in the history of this word, and shows this word to mean an underground dwelling, used also for textile or industrial pursuits. Perhaps the commonest place-name in the district, occurring over thirty times, is that of *Nook*. It occurs in many parts of the United Kingdom as *Knock* or *Knuck* or *Knook*. It is evidently the ancient Keltic word *cnuc*, and its original meaning is a knob or boss of rock, suggesting the idea of rock shelters. This word *nook* gives point to Shakespeare's description of this country in *King Henry V*, as "that nook shotten isle of Albion".

Another group of place-names suggests the idea of construction above ground of domestic abodes, and so we have a series of *booth* (*butth*) compounds, sometimes contracted into *boo* or *bow*, as Boo-hole, Boo-steads, etc.

Place-names indicating industrial conditions form the next ward, No. 6, in my master-key. As an industrial people, it is interesting that we have so many evidences of the ancient tool makers in the district, representing, perhaps, the oldest workshops and the oldest industry in the world. See "Ancient British Workshops", some marked A. B. W., in the top portion of the map, denoting places where flint-chippings have been found. The fact that the ancient Britons left us cinder-heaps and other relics of native metal-workers, connected with the fact that one of these duly accredited places in the district named rejoices in the name of Plumpton, where was once an ancient cinder-heap, strongly supports this idea. *Plum*, from which is our word plumber, a word signifying some kind of metal, perhaps lead, being recognised by Dr. Schrader. Besides this fact, in the district we have Goff Meadow, or the smith's meadow. *Staniards*, probably from the same source as *stanneries*, indicating some kind of metal, probably tin. While Echells Meadow has preserved its

Indo-European form almost entire, *ecchel* being an old High German word for steel; we have also one or two instances of *Stell* place-names, indicating, probably, the same metal.

Place-names indicating agricultural conditions, found at various centres on the map, are very plentiful in the area of the Master-Key; and so this group forms the next ward, No. 7. Survivals of an ancient land system, as already stated, forming a portion of one of the wards of my key, may be taken as the scientific basis of this ward. We find such place-names in different parts of the district as *doles* or *dols*. *Werneth* (*Gwernydd*), *Slensides*, *Clents*, *Balk-house*, *Rains* or *Reeans* (*had loont reean* surviving in Tim Bobbin, noted on the map), *Shudehills*, *Shuts*, *Butts*, and a great number of *acres* or *ackers* and *Bongs* or *Banks*. We also find a group of *grin* and *rig* compounds, evidently from *grwn*, a ridge, being a relic of terrace cultivation probably, which embraced the co-operative principle. The root word *white* is also much in evidence, which Dr. Schrader says is probably derived from an Indo-European source denoting wheat, this cereal probably having had the care and attention of the primitive tillers of the soil in this district.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting place-names are those which indicate the religious conditions of the original word user. These form the last ward, No. 8, in my master-key. As indicating stone worship, we have numerous *Yarn*, *Yern*, *Garn*, *Gorn*, *Curn* or *Churn* compounds. As indicating well worship, we have numerous *kils* (a *kil* is generally found near to a well, and sometimes joined to the Saxon word *wo*), *cils*, or *cells* as root words. Ancient legislation in these isles was directed from the first against these *cells* as places of pagan worship or superstition. I find Kilwards-croft, at Rochdale, the Kilward probably being a member of the village community there. Besides these we have several *Hallowells*, *Hollywells*, or, by inversion, *Welliholes*. Indications of tree worship are found in a number of *dean* or *den* compounds, *dene* indicating in its origin a kind of sacred grove. Besides these, we have as place-names numerous *cherry* compounds, generally associated with a wood or

clough, probably from *cerrig*, a word which also, in some of its forms, affords traces of the Christian religion, as *croig* and *kirk* or *kirch*—alluded to the other night by Colonel Fishwick ; *kirk* or *kirch* being a root word found in some half-dozen places in the area first mentioned.

There are thus eight wards in my Oldham master-key ; and, as I intend it to be used as a means of opening the closed door of local history elsewhere, I may say a word how I wish it to be used. Perhaps in few districts will all the conditions herein named exist. It may be the industrial will be found to the exclusion of the agricultural or other conditions ; or it may be that the domestic conditions vary in places where the lake dweller lived and the troglodyte found his underground abode. What should be looked for in districts where the ancient Briton flourished are place-names similar to those found in the district covered by the master-key, or other place-names which may be grouped under one or more of the conditions named. In getting at the names of places, it is important, either that they should be spelt as pronounced in the vernacular, or that each word should be traced back to its original form in the earliest deeds. In this way, the history of place-names will be put on a basis more or less scientific. Much light will be thrown on the meanings of place-names as evidences of the condensed thoughts and observations of those who first used them, expressing some underlying fact. I may say that I have applied this master-key with some success to the district of which Haddon Hall, in Derbyshire, forms a centre ; and I have no doubt, from what I know of the place-names of other districts in the north of England, that, dealt with in this manner, they will form an excellent gauge of the progress of the people from the time when most of the natives must have been cave-dwellers or worshippers of stocks and stones.





REMINISCENCES OF VISITS TO SEGONTIUM (CARNARVON).

BY HARRY SHERATON, ESQ.

(Read 17th Jan. 1894.)



URING the last twenty-five years I have frequently visited this interesting place, and having been requested to record my experiences I now proceed to do so.

Segontium is understood to have been the favourite residence in Britain of the Roman Emperor Constantine. His palace is said to have occupied the present site of the Vicarage of Llanbeblig, and in the Vicarage grounds, in time past, there have been discovered golden and other ornaments, which, no doubt, had belonged to the Imperial family. The Vicarage and grounds are on the inside of the old Roman walls of what I conclude was the military station. These walls are still to be traced on the four sides of a parallelogram, with the usual rounded corners which indicate their Roman origin, as also does the very hard, massive concrete work of the walls still standing.

The ancient British name of this city or station was "Caer Cystenyn", *i.e.*, Constantine's Camp, in contradistinction to a camp more recently discovered on the high bank facing the river Seiont, when some old buildings were pulled down, revealing a Roman wall of considerable extent and height. This was called "Caer Seiont", and, no doubt, from its three-sided, squared shape, and being open on the fourth side to the river, was for protection to the shipment of copper and lead ores from the districts of Snowdon, etc.

Adjoining the upper camp, "Caer Cystenyn", on the west side and north-west corner, are two deep wells of water, one of which is called "Helen's Well", and now used; the other is flagged over, and, judging from a description given to me by a man on the spot, is well worth a careful examination. The description reminds me of a finely finished well in a garden at the farmhouse at Binchester (Binovium), near Bishop Auckland, county Durham, which I examined about eight years ago.

Last June, 1893, when I visited Segontium, I was carefully examining a portion of the old Roman wall on the west end of "Caer Cystenyn", and discovered a small portion of the original face that had escaped being robbed for building stone. The building stones of this face were of the shape most commonly used by the Romans, and as they generally selected the hardest material obtainable, were of millstone grit, consequently hardly affected by the 1,700 years (more or less) exposure to the weather. This is very interesting as giving a correct idea of what the exterior of the walls was like before the face was robbed, with much difficulty, for building stones.

On leaving this for the train I noticed the digging of foundations for two new houses, and on inquiring whether any Roman remains had been found, was told that a well, 16 ft. deep, was found filled up with pottery, etc. The pottery consisted of broken pieces of fine Samian ware and large amphoræ, the handle of one of which I saw was very large, and had stamped upon it the letters LSP. RO; and I regret that I did not succeed in obtaining the handle for exhibition, in order that some one may have recognised the abbreviated letters. However, I was presented with several pieces of fine Samian ware and two fibulæ, both in bronze. One is a fine specimen, shewing enamel, and is very perfect, having been gilded, and thus preserved from decay in a great measure. The other is much corroded, yet it bears clear marks of enamel.

I named this to a friend who was to have that day met me at Segontium, but did not reach until two days later, and then he visited the places I have just named as well as these diggings. He was lucky enough to pick



SUPPOSED EFFIGY OF PUBLICIUS.

up in the soil a small and very perfect figure, in bronze, of Cupid, 2 in. long, finely executed.

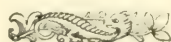
I forgot to mention that, after examining the diggings, the men said there was a Roman drain at the back of the place. On looking, I found it 2 ft. below the surface, in the shape of the letter V, and made with two slate slabs from the neighbouring quarries, and a flat piece on the top. In this part the earth was black, and evidently the *débris* of a great fire. My impression is that as this drain is coming down from higher ground, if any foundation should be hereafter dug on the higher ground, some remains of a Roman villa or villas may be found.

I may also remark that two fields away, on the south-east corner of "Caer Cystenyn", about 1 ft. more or less beneath the surface of the grass, is a Roman paved road running in the direction of the present gasworks, which are on the bank of the river Seiont; the section of this paved road is observable in the precipitous bank of the brickworks beyond the Infectious Hospital. This road was brought to light on the digging of the foundations for this hospital. When examining this road in June 1893, I found on the line of it a curious very long iron nail almost entirely corroded; and, on trying to project the course of the road in the direction of the mountains, I met with a very intelligent workman who gave me general information as to the Roman road, and shewed me what was called the old foundations of a former Roman bridge across the river, that had been destroyed several years ago as being dangerous, but, from its appearance, on minute observation, I should rather consider it was an ancient British foundation of a bridge afterwards utilised by the Romans. I now come to the Church of Llanbeblig, which is at the east end of "Caer Cystenyn", and adjoining this Roman road. Years ago, I read in an old book that, at the time of King Edward's coming to Carnarvon, there were discovered in the Vicarage grounds the remains of St. Peblig or Beblig, the ancient British name of Publicius, a nephew of Constantine, and the king caused them to be reburied with great pomp in Llanbeblig Church. I afterwards visited the church, but, on enquiring of the sexton, I could gain no information;

I therefore examined the interior carefully, and found in the wall behind the pews, on the south side of the south-western corner of the transept, a recess, which I concluded as most likely to be the receptacle of St. Publicius' remains ; and, as the church was in a bad state of repair, I looked forward to the time ere long that it might be restored, when a careful search might be made for the remains. On the 1st October 1893, I was informed that Llanbeblig Church was being cleared of the old gallery and pews for the long looked-for restoration, and went to inspect the operations, and found, first, that the old porch had been stripped of lath and plaster, and revealed a fine old oak porch, which I hope will be restored to its original style. In the church, the walls reveal many curious niches, etc. In one of the walls was found a very interesting monument in hard stone, which, from its peculiar size and general appearance, I have little hesitation in pronouncing to be St. Publicius. This, no doubt, at some period has been removed from over the remains of St. Publicius, and placed in the position in the wall where just found. The place which I suggested as the probable deposit of the remains of St. Publicius will be shortly examined before several archæologists, when I hope we shall be rewarded for our perseverance.

As the lath and plaster were removed from the church ceiling, a very fine massive oak roof was revealed. Over an old window head was placed a sepulchral slab of hard stone, which has a well-defined incised cross with a long shaft upon it ; this, I hope, will be removed for examination, and afterwards placed in a more appropriate position.

I may here remark that, in the name of Segontium, we have another instance, among many, of the Romans adopting ancient British names and giving them a Roman finial ; thus, Seiont, the name of the river, becomes Segont—Segontium. In like manner, at the present village of Aldborough, Yorkshire, the Iseur of the ancient Britons became the Isurium of the Romans on the River Eura. Many other instances may be mentioned.





SOME BYPATHS OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR IN LANCASHIRE.

BY REV. J. H. STANNING, M.A.

(Read at the Manchester Congress, Aug. 1894.)



THE traveller who desires to make himself fully acquainted with the nature of the country through which he is passing must not confine himself to its highways. With a view to a better knowledge of the history of the Great Civil War I ask you to follow me into one or two of its bypaths in this county.

Very early in that war the policy was adopted by the Parliamentarians of providing themselves with the necessary means to carry it on by the confiscation of the estates of their opponents. This was set forth in a Declaration of the two Houses of Parliament in September 1642: and by Ordinances promulgated the following year committees were appointed for the several counties, invested with very large powers for the purpose. A Committee from the House of Commons and the Lord Mayor and Council of London, which had been constituted originally with the object of raising money to pay the Scots, became the General Committee for the Country, and is known as the Committee for Compounding.

There was much laxity, however, on the part of the local Committees, and complaints were frequent as to the way in which their business was conducted, although strong efforts were put forth to stimulate their action, and fresh regulations were made from time to time. At length, after the Second War, the Goldsmiths' Hall Committee, as the General Committee was called, was reconstructed, and the County Committees were dissolved. The Goldsmiths' Hall Committee were then directed to

appoint in their place "so many persons inhabiting in every county, city, and place, as have adhered to the Parliament from the beginning of the Wars to this day, to be Commissioners for Sequestrations in their respective counties, as also such other officers or agents as shall be necessary for the carrying on of the service"; and these Commissioners were to sequester the estates of all Papists in arms and other delinquents, and two-thirds of the estates of all who had been previously adjudged Papists or delinquents. Peter Holt, George Pigott, and Robert Cunliffe were appointed a Committee for the county of Lancaster, and Peter Ambrose, "on presentation of Colonel Birch," was appointed agent. (The Commissioners, I may add, were to keep courts, receive fines, etc., and to have 12*d.* in the £ salary, the agent's remuneration being 28*s.* per week, which is equivalent to about £300 a year now.)

Messrs. Holt, Pigott, and Cunliffe were not satisfied with the arrangement. "We shall not be wanting", they wrote from Preston, April 3rd, 1650, "to advance the service, but unless we have necessary officers we cannot act. Mr. Ambrose says he is unable to undergo the burden of the sequestrations within the whole county, and that having hitherto only been employed as one of four agents within one hundred, it has been as much as he can undertake; and, indeed, our county being very large, and the sequestrations numerous, without our officers formerly recommended to you on 20th February, when we took off half the number, the service will be slighted. We, therefore, commend the enclosed list of officers, and desire your order for their acting." They enclosed a list of eleven persons proposed to be receiver, clerk, auditor, agents, and messenger to themselves.

Whether the work was too great or not I cannot say, but the County Commissioners sent up no money to the Treasury at London; and when, on July 2nd, the Committee at Goldsmiths' Hall wrote to complain, the reply was that Mr. Ambrose was so overwhelmed with work that he had not yet had time to "perfect" his accounts. On this, John Case's services were added to those of Ambrose, "and that", said the superior Committee, "is

as many as are allowed in any place." Nearly five months elapse, and then, November 19th, the County Commissioners wrote again, "We have several orders to send up speedy accounts. We have done our best to get them from the late and present agents, and should have sent them, but those of Peter Ambrose, whom you appointed our agent-general, were defective. We sent for him to perfect them, but he replies that he is going to London. When we first told him of your naming him agent-general, after taking time to consider, he replied that as one of the four agents in one of the six hundreds here for seven years past, he had been so overburdened that he had never been able to perfect his accounts. The late auditor for agents' accounts in this county, and Captain Samuel Birch, entrusted by the soldiers to view the agents' accounts, declare that he is £20,000 in arrear. We endeavoured, in a Christian private way, to show him his neglect and persuade him to vindicate his character as a Christian by perfecting his accounts. We hear from Colonel Birch that he has returned large sums to London, not telling us, though all sequestration moneys should be paid to us. He has lately sent two sons to New England, and seems to intend leaving the country without perfecting his accounts. If he tender any to you, we beg that they may be sent down here for examination, and that, as he is in London, you will take security from him to perfect them." The Committee ordered (December 5th) "that Peter Ambrose, Sequestration Agent of County Lancashire, bring in his accounts within two months." But evidently Ambrose made his own representations to the Committee, for, we find them writing, four days later, to the County Commissioners, "Mr. Ambrose says you urge him to receive the sequestration revenues as treasurer. We wonder at this, your instructions being to choose one of yourselves, nor have we power to allow of any other." But although the Committee declared that one of the County Commissioners must be treasurer, they did not refuse money paid in direct by Ambrose, so that we need not wonder that the complications continued. They ordered him (24th April 1651) to forthwith send up an account on oath, but he seems to have considered

himself master of the situation, for we find the County Commissioners writing again, May 9th, "We will send our accounts as soon as we can get those of last year from Mr. Ambrose. . . . Though Peter Ambrose promised to bring in his accounts for Derby Hundred in two months, he is very dilatory. As he complained of the multiplicity of his business, we gave Wigan and Ormskirk parishes, by his consent, to William Eccleston, to whom he promised particulars as to letting, but we found them posted by Ambrose and Eccleston at different rates, which led to confusion; and when we requested him to let those parishes alone, he refused, and said he would leave his employment unless he might have the whole, nor would he act for the stipend allowed by you, 9th December. We, therefore, appointed John Case for that division, and we desire you to authorise him." At last the patience of the London Committee, who seem to have played off the County Commissioners and the Agent-General one against the other, was exhausted, and on June 3rd they imposed a fine of £40 upon Ambrose for not bringing in his accounts. On the same day they wrote to Mr. Squibb, who, though one of their number, seems on occasion to have had special work deputed to him, begging him to advise the Commissioners touching him. The infliction of the fine was not without its effect. The County Commissioners wrote, July 11th, that Mr. Ambrose had got to his accounts more seriously, and had promised not to leave off until they were perfected, which would take him two months. "They would be delayed," they say, "if we imprisoned him"; but they add, significantly, "After he has brought them in you can dispose of him as you see cause." The Committee replied that, as they wished to give all reasonable time to Mr. Ambrose to make up his accounts, they would respite for two months the restraint ordered on his person, on good security for his forthcoming. Mr. Ambrose, however, did not complete his task, and the County Commissioners thereupon committed him prisoner to the garrison at Liverpool. Shortly after, the plague appeared there, and the prisoners were removed, and Mr. Ambrose was allowed to take his departure. He went home, not to perfect his accounts,

however, but to continue his old practices, for the County Commissioners complain, February 4th following, that "since then we have heard nothing from him, but he still goes on, by his agents, in levying and collecting arrears, and not paying anything into the treasury here, or giving us any manner of account of his actions." What was to be done with such a man? Evidently he was one too many for the County Commissioners. But the London Committee were determined to have a reckoning. "Re-commit Ambrose forthwith," they wrote, March 3rd, 1651, "till he perfect his accounts; enquire what he has received since his last enlargement, and levy it with £20 fine; warn the tenants to pay no more to him or his agents, and, in case they are forced to pay, levy the same again upon them by distress." Poor tenants! And what a state the country must have been in for them to be so treated!

A second time, accordingly, Mr. Ambrose found himself in prison. But how then, he asked, could he perfect his accounts? The plea did not avail him. On May 20th is written a letter: "Committee for Compounding to Peter Ambrose, late agent for Lancashire. You make your imprisonment an excuse for non-delivery of your accounts—a weak pretence, since you have been most gently used. But if they do not come within a month, we shall send for you by a Serjeant-at-Arms, and represent your refractoriness to Parliament. Your conduct is a scandal to your profession of conscience and religion." In less than a fortnight this was followed by an order to him to perfect his accounts in a week, and that the Commissioners levy what he owes on his estate. Another order followed to the same effect between three and four weeks later, and yet another a month after that. A fortnight more elapsed, and then the London Committee write to the County Commissioners: "We find, by Ambrose's letter, that he has done nothing towards his accounts, though so often pressed. Let him be kept in safe custody till he give good security to perfect them by Michaelmas (this letter was written August 4th), which, if not done, his securities are to be proceeded against."

I cannot trace Mr. Ambrose's doings for a time, but,

June 21st following (1653), he had gone to London to pass his account, taking Mr. Case with him, and the Committee ordered that he do not depart from town till it is finished. The auditor found that, on his accounts for the year 1650, he owed no less than £1,200, and that, with another account considered, he owed the State £1,842, and the Serjeant-at-arms was directed to take him into custody till he gave security for the payment of this amount. On September 20th following, he was ordered to be released for a month on his own bond for £2,000 ; and on October 28th he was ordered to be released on payment of fees, Major Wigan having bound himself in £1,000 for his appearance on summons. This Major Wigan I know little of, but it appears that he had bought from Peter Harrison, who had been solicitor for sequestrations in Lancashire, the arrears of salary which were due to him, and he had also had to do with the farming from the Commissioners of the College in Manchester, so I suspect he had had transactions with Ambrose which laid an obligation upon him, or made it desirable, for his own sake, to become security for him.

What ultimately became of Ambrose I do not know. He seems, after this, to disappear from the proceedings of the Committee for Compounding. But I may give you another instance of his dilatoriness (to call it by no other name) in paying over sums that he had received. Lady Elizabeth Stanley, widow of Sir Robert Stanley, who married again and became Countess of Lincoln, had had settled upon her and her sons by William Earl of Derby, a rent-charge of £600 per annum, of which £100 was charged upon the manors of Lathom, Childwall, and Dalton, which were sequestered from the Earl of Derby. The payments having fallen into arrear, the Lancashire Commissioners permitted the Countess's agents to receive the profits, giving account as they should be required. The Countess's trustees were Mr. Corry and Mr. Garland, who employed Mr. Ambrose as their agent. On his being called upon to render his accounts, it appeared that for six and a-half years ending 25th March 1652, he had received £4,598, and had paid £3,357 10s., there thus being in arrear no less a sum than £1,241.

All this time there was another set of troubles afflicting the Committee.

On June 30th, 1650, a long-boat from the Isle of Man captured, near the Irish coast, a ship called the *Mary*, of Liverpool, on board which were silks and stuffs and other wares of the value of upwards of £327, belonging to one Robert Massey, of Warrington. These were taken to the Isle of Man, and about twenty-three tailors were set to work to make garments of them. Mr. Massey appears to have set himself to have his revenge. On February 4th, 1651, he was appointed Sequestrator for Lancashire. But Messrs. Holt, Cunliffe, and Pigott, who had been already appointed, would have nothing to do with him. The London Committee, however, were determined that he should act. After some preliminary skirmishing, they wrote, October 22nd, 1651, a peremptory letter to enforce obedience, calling, at the same time, upon the Local Commissioners to render their accounts in three weeks, as they were "much unsatisfied in some particulars".

To this the Local Commissioners replied through Mr. Cunliffe, who was in London. Their letter to him runs as follows :—

"1651, November 7th, Preston.—County Committee for Lancaster to Robert Cunliffe, at the Bell, Friday-street.—We have seen your letter to [Evan] Wall, but, as we have not met till now, we could not answer. If it be still pressed by the Committee for Compounding that Mr. Massey must act with us, you must represent to them the following reasons for our not joining with him :—

"1. It is reported that not long since he compounded with his creditors, and it will not only prejudice the service if such be employed, but the country will say that the business is carried on by men of broken fortunes, which will be a scandal to us all.

"2. If we join him, we shall be made responsible for any moneys which come to his hands out of the profits of sequestrations during his employment. Our instructions directing that one of ourselves must be treasurer, and that we all must be responsible, we dare not engage our estates upon such a hazard as that of joining with him, if it should fall upon him to be treasurer.

"3. If the Committee for Compounding authorize him to act with us, out of their sense of some defects in us, and that three are not able to carry on the work, then we desire they will add two more to us instead of one, so that, if we differ in judgment, business may not be retarded by opposing two votes against two, but that there may be a casting vote.

"4. Upon the last advance of the Scotch King, with his forces, into this county, Massey was very adverse and backward in the service, and denied to pay or provide the men and money charged upon him by the Militia Commissioners, and, being nominated by them to raise a foot company for the defence of the county, he absolutely denied the employment, and returned his commission, alleging that he could not leave his trading, though it was at a time when the well affected could not possibly make any benefit of their trade, and scarcely durst open their shops.

"5. At the Scots' coming to Warrington, his wife and family were seen openly to rejoice, and many of the enemies' commanders were very well entertained there, rather as friends than enemies to them.

"If, notwithstanding all this, the Commissioners authorise him to act with us, then move that our accounts may be presently audited, and that we may be discharged of our employment; for we are resolved, either to join with those with whom we may cordially act, or to give up our accounts for the time we have been employed, and leave the work to such as they please to appoint."

This at first staggered the London Committee, and they suspended Mr. Massey for a short time. But he denied the charges brought against him, and in the end was re-instated. Nevertheless, the County Commissioners still declined to act with him. Mr. Holt died, and Mr. Pigott and Mr. Cunliffe were discharged from their office for persisting, though, apparently, not continuously, in their refusal. To show in what strange courses events ran, we have, on June 1st, 1652, an order of the Committee for Compounding, "on resuming the debate between the Commissioners of Lancashire and Mr. Massey—Mr. Pigott refusing to act with Mr. Massey, and the former Commissioners having written to say they would rather beg their bread than act with him—that the present Commissioners be laid aside, but that they continue to act till further order." (On the same day is an "Order on information that Peter Ambrose, late sequestration agent for Lancashire, has received large sums for which he refuses to account, that he perfect his account in a week, and that the Commissioners levy what he owes on his estate.") But, on the 18th day of the same month, appears an order that Robert Cunliffe, George Pigott, and Robert Massey be Commissioners for County Lancaster, followed, July 2nd, by another

appointing with these Edward Aspinwall, while, on August 13th following, George Pigott was dismissed from office, Mr. Cunliffe being discharged not many months later for refusing to act with Massey because he was to be treasurer.

In what I have brought forward, there is evidence enough to show in what a deplorable state of confusion matters were with regard to the management of sequestrations. I may give here two letters which prove this still further. The first is from the Lancashire Commissioners to the Committee for Compounding, and is dated from Wigan, November 18th, 1651. It runs thus :—

“You long since authorised Edward Morley to be Steward of all Courts kept upon any sequestered estates here, but we receive complaints that in most places they have no Courts at all, whereby the common nuisances between neighbours are not only unredressed, but the public much prejudiced for want of presentments of the death of tenants, of delinquent landlords, which cannot be prevented by any other means than the keeping of Courts, unless we should continually make new surveys of their leases. Some few Courts are kept by his substitutes, but so carelessly that the inhabitants complain that, when they have attended on the days appointed, they have waited all day, and neither the steward nor his deputy ever came. Pray revoke your grant to Mr. Morley, and we will see that the Courts are better kept.”

The next is from the Committee for Compounding to Henry Wrigley, High Sheriff for County Lancaster, and bears date November 25th, 1651 :—

“The County Committee for Lancaster complain against your officers for distraining tenants for rents and rent charges on sequestered estates. We understand you have returned the money levied, but the officers detained their fees, which are very extravagant. The State should not pay, nor should the tenants; they are required not to pay any such rents without our allowance, Parliament having entrusted to us the examination of such charges. You must require the officers to return those fees, or you must appear here in 14 days to show cause of your refusal.”

Professor Gardiner, in his *History of the Great Civil War*, takes the story of a single family, the Verneys, of Claydon, as a sample of the miseries weighing on many

hearts which combined to produce an ardent longing for peace as the only possible relief. In like manner, I would call attention to the doings which I have been setting before you as a sample of wrongs and injustice which contributed largely, as it seems to me, to the same result. Public plunder had for its proper companion private peculation. As it is put in a letter of July 1652, with reference to the misdeeds of those in another county (Berks), "They cry out, The State, the State, but their private interest is their Diana."





NOTES ON THE
IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING THE RECORDS
AND LITERARY ANTIQUITIES OF WALES,

AS ILLUSTRATED BY SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
HON. SEC.

(Read 16th January 1895.)

*"As ye find a notable antyquyte, let it anon be imprinted,
and so brynge it into a nombre of coppyes, both to their and
youre owne perpetual fame."* (Bale, quoted by Francis in
his *Original Charters of Neath*.)



ALTHOUGH Wales is—according to some who are apt to speak without much reflection—a geographical expression only, which ought soon to be done away with, the more one examines the antiquities of Wales, whether literary, architectural, or domestic, the more one becomes impressed with the distinctive character and national peculiarities that take them up at once into a section of our imperial history proper only to themselves.¹ Much has been done in recent years in the way of disseminating a knowledge of the original antiquarian materials still extant which relate to this romantic portion of Great Britain, but much remains still to be done; and it is doubtful whether any real progress will ever be achieved in dealing with the great bulk of Welsh evidences of every kind unless

¹ For example, the epigraphy and palaeography of Wales cannot be explained by a knowledge of English epigraphy and palaeography.

a separate state machinery can be set in motion to carry out so important and attractive a work.

With regard to the literary antiquities we all, I am sure, derived considerable satisfaction at the report made public during the autumn, that a deputation of gentlemen interested in the preservation of Welsh historical documents had held a conference with the Welsh Members of the House of Commons, at which they had pointed out that a large number of valuable documents, bearing not only on Welsh but on English history, are in existence, some of which are in danger of being lost beyond recovery unless steps are taken to prevent such a misfortune. They strongly urged the appointment by the Government of a qualified person to examine into and make catalogues of such documents. Sir J. T. Hilbert, M.P., K.C.B., Joint Secretary to H.M. Treasury, was present at the conference in company with others, and without definitely pledging the Government in this matter, he promised that the representations made at the conference should be favourably considered. The result of this conference has been, I believe, the appointment of a Royal Commission consisting of several influential and learned persons well known in the world of letters, charged with the duty of inquiring into and reporting upon the propriety of taking action in this behalf.

It is no new fancy that has led modern men to discern the value of such records. As long ago as the year 1825 the late Sir Thomas Phillipps, a man of the highest literary abilities, and the collector of the finest private library of manuscripts in existence in Great Britain at the time of his decease (a pursuit to which he devoted his whole time, and nearly the whole of his ample means), took the opportunity of declaring, in his edition of *A Book of Glamorganshire Antiquities*, by Rice Merrick, Esq., 1578, which he most appropriately dedicated to Thomas Burgess, D.D., Bishop of Sarum, and before that of St. David's, "I dedicate this work to one who has been so instrumental in rousing a spirit of investigation into the antiquities of Wales, and who has supported that spirit by his example until, as I trust, it has fixed

itself so firmly and spread itself so widely amongst the inhabitants of Wales in general, as not to cease until every record of that ancient kingdom shall be published which may throw the least light upon its history I intend to prosecute my researches amongst the concealed treasures of Wales, and bring to light, in his original language, every unpublished author of that nation who may be worthy of publication."

Further on in the same work Sir Thomas wrote, "I determined to print fifty copies of it that it might be rescued from the chance of destruction by fire or some other fatal cause. This is a plan which I should be glad to see adopted with regard to all unpublished manuscripts at the British Museum, the Bodleian, and other public Libraries; for it is disgraceful to possess the easy means of multiplying copies which printing affords, and not to use those means for preserving scarce manuscripts. I could wish that the Government, which pays more attention than it did formerly—although an illiberal public cramps its exertions—would issue orders that every manuscript in the British Museum, of which only one copy is known to exist, should be instantly printed in the exact words of the original."

This was penned by Sir Thomas Phillipps before the inauguration of the series of chronicles and memorials known as the Master of the Rolls' Series, which, during a course now unhappily arrested from motives of economy, has effected something in this direction; but the work has been done very perfunctorily in some cases, and the scope of the Series was not sufficiently elastic to enable many forms of records to be dealt with. The periodical issues of Societies such as the Cymmrodorion, the Cambrian Archæological Association, the Welsh MSS. Society, the Powysland Club, and other antiquarian bodies, have also achieved something in the way of lightening the load; but a far more carefully and systematically organised endeavour must be made before any real and even perceptible effect can be produced.

To the old Royal Cymmrodorion Society belongs the honour of having first inaugurated a Catalogue—in-

complete and deficient in conception as it is—of the Welsh manuscripts and manuscripts relating to Wales, preserved in our great Library of the British Museum. The Catalogue itself, in manuscript, with a large number of other manuscripts of considerable value relating to this part of the kingdom, was presented to the British Museum in 1833-4, at a period when the dissolution of the Society (now happily reconstructed) was impending. This Catalogue is now numbered 15,088 among the Additional MSS. It is entitled “A Descriptive Catalogue of all Welsh Manuscripts and Documents relating to the Principality of Wales, preserved in the different Libraries of the British Museum. Formed agreeably to Instructions from the Royal Cymmrodorion Society. By James Logan, F.S.A., of Scotland, and Corr. Mem. S. A. of Normandy.” I cannot find that it has ever been committed to the press, and thereby made available in many cases of need; but if the executive of the new Society would commission some one well acquainted with the method of using our numerous catalogues and registers, to remodel the original Catalogue made by Mr. Logan, and to incorporate with it the many and priceless additions acquired during the sixty-one years that have now elapsed since it was made, thereby bringing it up to date, and have it printed, the study of the history of Wales would receive a vital impetus fraught with good result. A similar proceeding should be adopted with regard to the manuscripts at H.M. Record Office, those mentioned in Sir T. D. Hardy’s *Catalogue of MSS. relating to British History*, and those already calendared by the Royal Historical Commission, on which I shall take occasion presently to make a few remarks. The proposed ethnographical, archæological, and photographic survey, under charge of the Cambrian Archæological Association, deserves every encouragement, but should we not also have, first of all, a survey of the literary remains of Wales, which are more perishable than types of mankind and massive edifices?

One or two works of very recent production dealing with the MSS. of Wales may be instanced as examples of the utility and importance of the subject to which I

have drawn attention. *The Ancient Laws of Wales; viewed especially in regard to the Light they throw upon the Origin of some English Institutions*, by the late Mr. Hubert Lewis, B.A., has been edited a few years ago by Mr. J. E. Lloyd, M.A., lecturer in English and Welsh at the University College of Wales, Aberystwith, and published by Mr. Stock in 1892. This is a monograph of labour and research, being an attempt to trace in the local institutions of mediæval and modern England some vestiges of a state of society similar to that described in the Welsh laws. Of these laws, some of which appear to me, as a layman, to partake of an academic and theoretical rather than an actual and practical kind, there are three codes or varieties of the "Laws of Hywel Dda", to one or other of which almost all the existing manuscripts, of which a goodly number is known to be extant in various places of deposit, must be assigned. Sir T. D. Hardy enumerates, in his *Catalogue of MSS.* (vol. ii, pp. 622-4), eight codices of the Venedotian or Northern Welsh Laws, sixteen Dimetian or Western Welsh, six Gwentian, four anomalous, and three "Leges Wallicæ Latine."

Whether all the regulations laid down in these juridical codices were ever current and enforced in practice, and by officers armed with powers to punish non-observance, and at what time, is a matter demanding still further research, as the author does not vouchsafe much definite information on the point. Mr. C. H. Compton contributed to the Congress of the British Archæological Association at Llangollen, in 1877, a useful paper on this subject of the Welsh Laws. It is printed in the *Journal* for 1878, vol. xxxiv, p. 436.

Probably one of the best edited Records of Wales is the recently issued *Text of the Book of Llan Dâr*,—a manuscript better known to antiquaries as the *Liber Landavensis*,—reproduced from the original MS. at Gwysaney, in Flintshire, by J. G. Evans, Esq., Hon. M.A., and John Rhys, Esq., M.A., Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford. This was privately printed last year and issued to subscribers only. No copies of this work are, I believe, now to be procured. The MS. was

not consulted, we are told, by the Welsh MSS. Society in their preparation of the earlier edition of 1840, which was based on later transcripts, and consequently contained occasional readings different considerably from the parallel passages in the archetype, which the owner, Mr. P. B. Davies-Cooke, of Gwysaney, placed in the hands of the two above mentioned Editors for publication. In this work are restored—for, with an original MS. in hand, it is difficult to go wrong and easy to detect the faults of others—the original words of the precious Register or Chartulary of Llandaff, from the fifth to the twelfth century, the first handwriting being attributed to the early date of *circa* 1150. The first edition, by the Rev. W. J. Rees, in 1840, was based on a transcript made by Robert Vaughan in 1660, now preserved at Peniarth among the collection known as the “Hengwrt MSS.” (No. 157), a most valuable library of Welsh historical MSS., of which I am able to show a few photographed leaves on this occasion. This collection, which belongs to Mr. W. R. M. Wynne, of Peniarth, it may be said *en passant*, deserves a careful and exhaustive examination at the hands of a competent librarian; its contents are at present only known through the medium of a very meagre account among the appendices of the Historical MSS. Commissioners’ Reports. There is also an older and nearly complete transcript, made in 1612, among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. From this, Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., of Talygarn, printed the earliest Glamorganshire charters in his *Carte de Glamorgan*, some notice of which will be found further on in this article. Now, however, the original manuscript has been made available to those students who are sufficiently fortunate to obtain an opportunity of perusing the book, and this is due, in a great measure, to the liberality of our former President, the Marquess of Bute, whose devotion to ancient literature and fostering patronage of ecclesiastical and ecclesiological antiquities is well known to all. The few typographical errors and departures of the editors from their own rules are not difficult to be put right; and they may also be the more readily forgiven for imputing wrong readings to others, as it would be easy

to convict them of the same occasional delinquency themselves.

Another privately printed work of utility is that entitled *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts in the possession of Miss Talbot, of Margam*, with Introduction and Notes by W. de G. Birch. First series, 1893; second series, 1894. In this are contained full descriptions of nearly eleven hundred ancient deeds relating to Glamorganshire, and chiefly to the district of Gower, the landed estates of the great Cistercian Abbey of Margam, near Neath, and the real properties, by patrimony and purchase, of the families of Penrice, Mansell, and Talbot, ranging, in point of date, from the eleventh to the eighteenth century. A third series, which carries on the contents to nearly two thousand documents in all, and an index, are already written, and when they are printed during this year by Miss Talbot's instructions, a work will be completed which is indispensable to Welsh antiquaries and to students of the chequered fortunes of South Wales for seven centuries.

It is both curious and instructive to trace the fortunes of the Margam Abbey manuscripts. One precious volume saved from the wreckers of the Dissolution is a fine copy of the *Domesday Book Abbreviated*, now preserved among the Arundel MSS. of the British Museum, No. 153. Another, a yet finer and more valuable codex, written late in the twelfth century, contains the *Gesta Regum et Pontificum*, of William of Malmesbury, the famous historiographer (whose patron was Robert of Gloucester, the founder of Margam Abbey), and the *Historia Regum Britannie* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, a name venerable beyond compare to the enlightened and patriotic Welshman. This also finds a safe abiding place in the British Museum among the MSS. of the Royal Library (No. 13 D. 11). The Record Office *Breviate of Domesday Book* (which is distinct from the *Abbreviatio* mentioned above), a manuscript described by me in detail in *Domesday Studies* of the Domesday Commemoration in 1886, vol. ii, p. 500, also takes its origin in South Wales, possibly Swansea or Cardiff, and was, apparently, at one time, in possession of the noble, powerful, and wealthy family of Braose.

The Charters of Margam Abbey range from the first establishment of the little hermitage of Pendar, "the hill clad with oak woods" (lineal descendants of the antediluvian *Silva* which lies deep down below our feet at every step we take on the adjacent littoral from Neath to Kenfig, and from the heights of Aberdare to far beyond low-water mark, on the sand-blown shore), to the dissolution of the Abbey and grant of its site. These deeds form probably the most complete original series in existence relating to one monastic establishment. Strange to say, they seem to have been divided into two portions, or, if the whole number of them passed into the possession of Sir Rice Mansell, to whom the abbey site was sold by the Court of the Augmentation of the Revenues of the Crown not long after the Dissolution, a large number must have been surreptitiously removed from Margam, and these eventually found their way into the careful hands of the noble collector of the Harley Library of the British Museum, for our national collection contains nearly one hundred and fifty deeds which dovetail in date and contents with the more extensive collection belonging to Miss Talbot. The two collections, taken together and amalgamated by Mr. Clark in the work referred to above, probably represent nearly the whole contents of the muniment presses of the abbey at the time it ceased to be the one great and glorious monastic edifice of the county. Or it may be that the portion in the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum represents a kind of specimen selection, made at haphazard, which was brought to London and laid before the officials appointed for the conduct of the sale of the lands of the dissolved religious houses and the Court of Augmentations; while, on the other hand, the portion at Margam passed, with seisin and possession of the site and buildings of the monastery, into the good keeping of the first lay owner of the property, Sir Rice Mansell. These deeds are exceedingly rich in references to the noble families, ecclesiastical dignitaries, landed proprietors, English and Welsh, the officials and the prominent personages who figured in their transient turns throughout the annals of Glamorganshire. Among these

parchments which all-devouring time has spared for us to-day are Papal Bulls and Privileges to the Cistercian Order in general and to the abbey in particular; royal charters of Henry II and succeeding monarchs of England, deeds illustrative of the history of the neighbour abbey of Neath, the Priory of St. Michael of Uggomore or Ewenni, and the opulent abbey of Tewkesbury, in Gloucestershire, which held a considerable estate of lands in these parts. The names of the witnesses, every one of whom has been preserved in the *Catalogue*, comprise members of almost every family known to the historian of this district of the Cambrian realm. The monks of this abbey—and I think we may say the same for other Welsh abbeys—do not appear to have compiled any large Register Books or Chartularies (although Rice Merrick speaks of the *Register of Neath*, now missing) after the English and Scottish manner, but they caused their charters, privileges, grants of lands, and rents, quitclaims, releases, confirmations, agreements or compositions, conventions, exchanges, and other deeds relating to the transfer of land and the litigation which occasionally ensued, to be neatly copied, sometimes in an abridged form, into small vellum rolls. These were capable, on account of their convenient dimensions, of rapid and effective concealment or easy deportation if, at any time, the safety of the institution were jeopardised—as was sometimes the case—by the guerilla incursions of the sacrilegious and audacious men of Breconshire and other hostile bands of lawless marauders who, from time to time, swooped down suddenly from the northern hill country to harry the most fertile and more civilised district on the southern littoral of the county. Thirteen rolls in all, falling under this category, are extant, containing abstracts, or transcripts, of two hundred and eighty-seven charters.

There are many charters of the other Welsh counties which deserve similar treatment by the compilation of a descriptive catalogue, and the number which a careful searcher would glean from the Record Office Rolls is very great: *à propos* of the Record Office, a well written article, entitled “Documents relating to Wales at H.M.

Public Record Office, by R. Arthur Roberts, Esq., being an Address delivered at the Office, 23 May 1889, during the London Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association", appears in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. vi, Part xxiv, p. 293 (October 1889).

Among the more important documents at the Record Office then exhibited or spoken of were the Patent and Close Rolls of King John; the Forest Roll, 55 Henry III; the Plea-Rolls of Flint, 12 Edward I; an early Roll of Welsh Matters; Welsh Rolls, 6-10 Edward I; Court-Rolls of Ruthin, 22-24 Edward I, and 6-7 Elizabeth; Rolls of the Justices in Eyre, 35 Edward I and 15 Henry VII; the Recognizance Rolls, 2-5 Edward I, and 7-8 Elizabeth; Indictment-Rolls, 1 Henry IV to 10 Henry V, of Chester and Flint; Plea-Rolls of Brecon, 34 Henry VIII; Ministers' Accompts, Henry III to Henry VII; a Registrum Munimentorum, early in the reign of Edward I, being a Register of public Documents relating to Wales, and having some early portraits of Welshmen; Treaties of Peace between King John and Llewellyn ap Iorwerth in 1102; Repairs at Cardigan Castle, 6 John; "and thousands of similar Rolls." In like manner the *Rotuli Wallie*, printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, deserves to be better known, and to take another and ampler form.

The late Sir Watkin W. Wynn, of Wynnstay, near Ruabon in North Wales, Bart., and M.P., possessed, and kindly showed to me, in the year 1877, during our Congress at Llangollen, of which he worthily filled the office of President, a large collection of deeds connected with Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, and some bearing the seal of that Prince, as well as many others relating to the Abbeys of Valle Crucis, Strata Marcella, Dore, Cymmer, Conway, and others in the neighbourhood of his estates. Sir Watkin also allowed me to exhibit to the Congress members, at an evening meeting (*Journal*, vol. xxiv), a fine Codex, written in the fourteenth century, of the Welsh lawgiver, Hywel Dda, and a selection of other MSS., sufficient to show how valuable his collection would be if the contents could be given to the world by means of an accurate catalogue.

The Historical MSS. Commission, to which attention

has already been drawn, has examined, according to the Return of their Reports and Appendices, printed 27th June 1890, the following collections of Welsh Records and Papers, viz., those in the possession of:—

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. Miss Conway Griffith | Anglesey. |
| 2. Captain James Stewart | Cardiganshire. |
| 3. Colonel Myddleton Biddulph | Denbighshire. |
| 4. Mr. Whitehall Dod |) Flintshire. |
| 5. Lord Mostyn | |
| 6. Sir Richard Puleston, Bart. |) Merionethshire. |
| 7. Mr. W. W. E. Wynne | |
| 8. The Earl of Powis | Montgomeryshire. |

A total of eight collections out of a probably vastly greater number.

As I gave a tolerably long account of the most important MSS. in the British Museum relating to Wales in a Paper which was printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1889, it is unnecessary to reproduce it here. During the last six years the Museum Department of MSS. has acquired a further number of valuable records, among them being the Inquisitions relating to the Laws and Customs of Wales from the time of Edward I to Henry VII; the Orders for the Court in the Marches in the time of Elizabeth; Instructions to the Lord President and Council, 1574; Writs relating to Wales, from Elizabeth to Charles II; and Proposals relating to the Laws in 1651.

Some of the *Chronica* of Wales deserve critical examination, and a more comprehensive editing than they have yet received. There are, for example, the *Annales de Margam*, ranging, in point of date, from A.D. 1066-1232, which were published by the late Rev. Dr. Luard, in 1864, in the Rolls Series, and formerly by Gale in the *Hist. Angl. Scriptores*. Hardy, in the *Catal. of MSS.*, iii, 77, gives a short account of this record, and points out that some of the notices contained in it are not found elsewhere. For example, the exact date of the murder of Prince Arthur, 3 April A.D. 1204, is given by no other author.

The *Chronicle of Wales* from A.D. 1066-1298, which is written at the end of the Exchequer *Domesday Book* in

H.M. Record Office, has been printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1862 (3rd Ser., vol. viii, p. 272 *et seq.*). This was probably compiled in one of the religious houses of Morganwg or Gwent, for events relating to Margam, Neath, Tintern, Goldcliff, and other Monasteries occur; and there are notices of the Bishops of Llandaff and St. David's, several of which will prove valuable to the student of Welsh history. Hardy seems to confuse it with MS. Harl. 3959 and Cotton MS. Domitian A. 1.

The Harley MS. 838, fols. 96-117, is a very respectable paper copy of an ancient *Chronicle of South Wales*, apparently founded on earlier chronicles of general history, on which is grafted an early Chronicle strongly related to that given in Harley MS. 3859, fol. 189*b et seq.*

This latter *Ancient Chronicle* has been edited by Mr. E. Phillimore for the Cymmrodorion Society, and the Editor has taken care to show up, in a footnote, the mistakes of Sir Samuel Meyrick and another who had previously published its text. Here, as in the case of the Editors of the *Liber Landavensis*, one may say that for two or three Editors to depreciate the works of others who have laboured previously in the same field, for inaccuracy from which they themselves can be shown to be not altogether free, does not help the forward progress of any literary research. From the year 954, when this MS. ends, to A.D. 1298, the Harl. MS. 838 seems to resemble the Exchequer MS. in many but not all respects, drawing also upon the *Margam Annals*, as far as they reach, as to substance, but not in identical language. The *Annales Cambriæ*, which rest on an Irish Chronicle, and have been attributed to Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, one of the most learned men in all Cymru, were edited in 1860 for the Rolls Series, by the Rev. John Williams (*Ab Ithel*). They range over the period from 444-1288. The *Brut y Tywysogion* (681-1282), written in Welsh, attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished in the twelfth century, edited in the same year for the Series by the same author; and probably a few other MSS. of the same kind, would form a nucleus of work for a new Society devoted to the publication of Welsh historical antiquities, that would not fail to appeal to a wide circle of students.

The Governors of the Welsh School in London presented nearly a hundred manuscripts of ancient Welsh poems and Englynion to the British Museum in 1844. Their titles and descriptions will be found in the printed "List of Additions" for that year. The same year, the old Cymmrodorion Society presented a much larger series of somewhat similar MSS. This great collection of Cymraic anthology, which would have been a splendid nucleus for a Welsh national library in a conveniently accessible Welsh town, it matters not whether in the north, south, or midland of Wales, is, for the most part, still unpublished, waiting, as it were, to be called back to life by the magic waving of the printer's composing-stick.

It has been left to munificent private enterprise to produce such monumental works as that of Mr. G. T. Clark, F.S.A., of Talygarn—a name of which not only Glamorganshire antiquaries may well be proud, but one ever dear to the British student of ancient military remains—entitled *Cartæ et alia Munimenta quo ad Dominium de Glamorgan pertinent*. This is a series of four thick quarto volumes, comprehending in two series many hundreds of, in fact, almost all available, records relating to the lordship of Glamorgan, perhaps the most interesting in all Wales, from the variety of its fortunes and the exalted position of the many lords whose appanage it constituted, from the antememorial period of A.D. 440 down to late mediæval years. Such a work as this, could it but be set on foot for every county in Wales (and there is no reason why it should not), would go far to put the local, tribal, and family history of the principality on a satisfactory basis. What one antiquary has shown to be a possible and practical result of unassisted application, another, or others in collaboration, ought to find no difficulty in emulating.

There are in the British Museum, and, I doubt not, in other repositories, many charters and copies of charters relating to Pembrokeshire, some of which were pointed out by Mr. E. J. L. Scott, M.A., keeper of the Department of MSS., to the members who attended the Tenby Congress in 1884, and afterwards printed in our *Journal*.

Similarly, among the Hutton Collections in the Harley Library of the British Museum is a small series of early Brecknockshire deeds (Harl. MS. 6976), which might be supplemented by vigorous research in other quarters.

The above notices are only specimens of what might be said of almost every place of importance in Wales. The records exist, but want the care of a qualified person provided with the consent and encouragement of the owner, to reveal the facts to which they point, and to make them useful to all, as well as by so doing to enhance their value to the owners. Were this done, new facts in Welsh history would be elicited to astonish every one who studied to carry out what is now often an unsatisfactory research because of the want of knowledge of these very records. I believe that there are prominent men and prominent bodies in Wales deeply imbued with public spirit, who would willingly co-operate in the production of a series of ancient records of Wales, not only with their purses, but, what is perhaps more valuable, by throwing open their collections to the editor and the printing press when once the demand for instruction in these particulars becomes general. It is with the object of drawing attention to the existence of these literary remains scattered in various places, often forgotten, unstudied, and frequently neglected and uncared for, and rendering any assistance in my power to the end that they may be taken note of before it be too late, that I have made these remarks on this occasion.



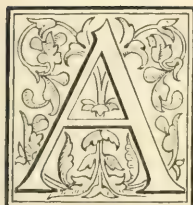


THE EARLY DEEDS RELATING TO THE MANOR OF MANCHESTER,

NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CORPORATION
OF THAT CITY.

BY J. P. EARWAKER, ESQ., M.A. F.S.A.

(Read at the Manchester Congress, 1894.)



FEW years after the grant of a charter of incorporation to the town of Manchester, which took place in 1838, the Corporation entered into negotiations with Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., the lord of the manor of Manchester, for the purchase of the manorial rights. Early in the century, in 1808-9, other negotiations had been started for the purchase of these rights, but the Committee who had the management of the affair considered that the price asked, £90,000, was at that time excessive, and so the negotiations were given up. But between that time and 1845 the town had increased largely in size and importance, and when £200,000 was named as the purchase-money for the manorial rights, it was ultimately agreed, on the 2nd July 1845, to give that sum, and it was finally arranged that a small portion should be paid at once, and the balance by yearly instalments of £4000. The last of these annual payments takes place in the autumn of this year, 1894, when the Corporation of Manchester become the absolute lords of the manor of Manchester.

Shortly after this arrangement was come to, the old Court Leet Records were handed over to the Corporation, and with them a number of early deeds relating to the manor of Manchester, going back to the beginning of the 14th century.

The Court Leet Records, which begin in 1552, the last year of the reign of King Edward VI, have recently been printed by the Corporation of Manchester in a series of twelve octavo volumes, under my editorship. The publication of these volumes has thrown much interesting light on the history of Manchester during the time of Queen Elizabeth, the Stuart kings, etc., down to modern times; and the enterprise of the Corporation in having them printed has been flatteringly commented upon by the chief literary and archæological journals. Subsequent to these volumes, the Corporation was at the expense of printing three volumes of the old Constables' Accounts of the manor of Manchester, which they had been fortunate enough to acquire, so that all the Records in their possession, after the year 1552, are now available for historical students in a printed form.

The packets of early deeds which came with the Court Leet Records were placed in the muniment room, where they remained for many years till I was allowed the opportunity of examining them a short time ago. I then drew up a short Report upon them, which has recently been printed.

"Short Report on the Early Deeds in the Possession of the Corporation."

"The valuable original deeds in the possession of the Corporation are about 80 in number, and relate almost entirely to the manor of Manchester and lands lying within that manor. They are all in Latin or Norman French, and some of them are of considerable length. They consist:—

"1. Of documents connected directly with the many and various settlements of that manor, made from time to time in the 14th and 15th centuries by the families of the de la Warres and the Wests, successively lords of Manchester, by virtue of which the manor was held in trust by many distinguished personages such as Prince Henry, Cardinal of England in 1430; John, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1450; Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; and others.

"2. Of very many grants of lands within the manor by the successive lords from the year 1312 to 1553.

"3. Of leases of lands within the manor within the same period.

To many of these deeds the seals of the grantors are still attached, some of which are of much interest.

"It may be said with certainty that none of these documents have ever been printed, and that they were quite unknown to Mr. Harland when he printed his *Mameceestre*, or early records relating to Manchester, some thirty years ago. They not only supply some very valuable additions to what is there printed, but they help to correct many of his statements, which are inaccurate or untrustworthy for want of the information contained in these very documents."

I then took the opportunity of urging upon the Corporation the advisability of having these valuable old deeds placed beyond the risk of loss by being printed, and suggested that this might be done in the form of an octavo volume, uniform with the printed volumes of the Court Leet Records, and containing a history of the manor of Manchester in early times. I wrote:—

"They well deserve to be printed, and should it be decided to do so, they should be treated as the basis of an account of the "Early History of the Manor of Manchester between the years 1300 and 1553" on the following lines:—

"1. All these deeds to be arranged chronologically, and printed, not in the original Latin or Norman French, but in careful translations, with all necessary annotations and explanations. By this arrangement they would fall into groups under the heads of the successive lords of the manor between the years 1300 and 1553, when the Court Leet Records commence.

"2. The account of each of these successive lords of the manor of Manchester should be made as complete as possible by printing other documents, relating to them, to be found in the Public Record Office, London, the British Museum, and in other public and private collections. For many years past I have made notes of any records referring to Manchester, and all such as related to the manorial history should be transcribed and printed in this book, together with others, which further and more extended researches would undoubtedly bring to light.

"The result would be the publication of a very interesting and complete account of the early lords of Manchester (of whom so little is really known) which would very fittingly appear under the authority of the Corporation, the present lords of the manor, and based on the original documents in their possession.

"Such a history would make an octavo volume of some 300 pages, uniform with the Court Leet Records and the Constables' Accounts, the cost of which would be similar to those, and which could be got ready and printed in about twelve months."

I am in hopes that the interest with which this Report has been received in many quarters, may lead to this volume being printed, in which event all the old records relating to the manor of Manchester from the year 1300 to the present time will then have been published.

Early in the 14th century the manor of Manchester was in the possession of the old Norman family of Gresley or Grelley, but, on the marriage of Joan Grelley, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Grelley, with John Lord la Warre, it passed into the possession of that family, where it remained for some generations. One of the earliest deeds in the possession of the Corporation is the "Fine" of the Manor of Manchester and the advowsons of the churches of Manchester and Ashton-under-Lyne, by Thomas Grelle to John la Warre and Joan his wife, dated 1309-10. A translation of this document is as follows:—

"Fine of the Manor of Manchester and the Advowsons of Manchester and Ashton, by Thomas Grelle to John la Warre and Joan, his wife.

"This is the final agreement made in the Court of the Lord the King at Westminster in the Octave of St. Hilary, in the 3rd year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward [1309-10], before William de Bereford, Lambert de Trikingham, Hernis (Hernico) de Stanton, John de Benstede, and Henry le Scrop, Justices, and other faithful people of the Lord the King then there present. Between John la Warre and Joan his wife, plaintiffs, and Thomas Grelle, deforçant, of the manor of Mancestr and the advowsons of the churches of the said vill and of Ashton near Mancestr. Whereupon a plea of covenant was summoned between them in the said Court, that is to say, that the aforesaid Thomas acknowledged the aforesaid manor and advowsons with the appurtenances to be the right of him the said John, as those which the said John and Joan had of the gift of the aforesaid Thomas. And for this acknowledgment, fine, and agreement, the said John and Joan have granted to the aforesaid Thomas the aforesaid manor, etc., and those to him returned in the same Court. To hold to the said Thomas of the said John and Joan and the heirs of him the said John, during the whole of the life of the said Thomas, yielding thence yearly one rose at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist for all services, customs, and exactions to the said John and Joan and the heirs of the said John belonging, and to the chief lords of the fee the services to the said manor and advowsons belonging. And after the death of the

said Thomas, the said manor and advowsons with the appurtenances shall wholly revert to the said John and Joan and the heirs of the said John quietly from the heirs of the said Thomas, to hold of the chief lords of the fee by the services belonging to the said manor and advowsons for ever."

In 1312 and subsequent years, John la Warre is described as lord of the manor of Manchester, and in that capacity he made grants of land to many persons, the boundaries of which are in many cases set out in full detail, with the names of those local persons who were present as witnesses. In 1330 his son and heir apparent, John la Warre is mentioned, together with his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir John de Holland, Knt., and a settlement of certain manors in the south of England was then made, in which John de Cleydone, parson or rector of the church of Manchester, is named. By another deed, dated the same year, 1330, the manor of Manchester and lands there and in Ashton are referred to.

John, Lord la Warre, the first lord of the manor of Manchester of that name, died in 1347, and in the Inquisition *post mortem*, taken after his death, it is shown that his son and heir apparent, John la Warre, had predeceased him, and that he was succeeded by his grandson Roger la Warre, who was then eighteen years of age. And, accordingly, in the following year, 1348, we find a grant of land in Manchester made by Roger la Warre, lord of Manchester. Many other similar grants occur, two of which, dated 1357, are sufficiently interesting to quote here. One of these relates to the grant of the hamlet of Openshaw to the family of the Booths of Barton, a family which, in this and the following century, gave many distinguished men to the church, two of whom filled the high office of Archbishop of York, and others held bishoprics, deaneries, canonries, etc., in various parts of the kingdom. This deed is as follows :

"Grant of the hamlet of Openshagh, from Roger la Warre, Lord of Manchester, to Thomas de Bothe and Robert, his son, for their lives.

"To all, etc., Roger la Warre, Lord of Mamecestr, sends greeting Whereas, we lately demised to Thomas de Bothe and Thomas dillere, the hamlet of Openshagh, with its appurtenances. To have

and to hold for the term of the life of them, upon this condition, that the same Thomas and Thomas should surrender to us the hamlet aforesaid (*sup' hoc ijd'm Thom' & Thom' nob' sursu' reddiderunt hamellu' p'd'c'm*). Be it known that we have given and granted to the said Thomas de Bothe and Robert the son of the same Thomas, the hamlet aforesaid, with all its appurtenances. To have and to hold for the term of the lives of them the said Thomas and Robert, yielding therefore yearly to us and our heirs, 2os. 8d. at the usual terms for all services and demands. So that after the decease of the said Thomas and Robert, the said hamlet with its appurtenances to us and our heirs wholly shall revert.

With clause of warranty.

"Given at Mamecestre at the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin [July 20] 31 Edward III [1357]."

(Seals gone.)

The other deed is of special interest, as it has an early reference to Smithfield, now the great Manchester market, one of the largest in the kingdom :—

"Lease of a place of land called Smethefeld, from Lord Roger la Warre to Richard son of Robert, for 20 years.

"This indenture witnesseth that Lord Roger la Warre hath demised and to farm let to Richard son of Robert, one place of land formerly called 'Smethefeld', which he formerly held for a term of years, whereof 3 years are unexpired. To hold to him and his assigns from the end of that term for 20 years thence next following, yielding therefore yearly to the said Lord Roger and his heirs 4s. at the usual terms by equal portions.

With clause of warranty.

"Given at Mamecestre on Wednesday next before the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross [Sept. 14] 31 Edward III [1357]."

Seal.

Roger la Warre was dead in or before the year 1403, in which Thomas Lord la Warre, clerk, occurs as lord of the manor of Manchester. This was the celebrated Thomas la Warre, who was Rector of the Church of Manchester, and who made that building into a collegiate church, with John Huntingdon as its first Warden. This was in 1421, and in 1427 Thomas Lord la Warre died, when the manor of Manchester passed to Joan la Warre, who married Sir Thomas West, third Baron West, and thereby caused the manorial rights to become vested in that family. This Sir Thomas West was then dead, hav-

ing died on the 19th April 1405, leaving a son and successor, Sir Reginald West, Knt., who was summoned to Parliament on the 5th July 1427 as sixth Baron de la Warre.

In the year 1430 there is an interesting deed in this collection relating to the manor of Manchester, which mentions many distinguished persons who were appointed trustees. This is as follows :—

“Appointment of Attorneys by Reginald West, Lord la Warre, to deliver seisin to Prince Henry, Cardinal of England, and others, of the Manor of Manchester, etc.

“Be it known, etc., that I Reginald West, knight, Lord la Warre, have assigned and in my place constituted my beloved in Christ Edmund Trafford, knight, William Wynard, John Henage, Thomas Ouerton, and Richard Hue, my true and lawful attorneys jointly and severally to deliver for me and in my name to the eminent Lord and Prince, Henry, Cardinal of England, Bishop of Winchester, William Earl of Suffolk, Robert Lord de Wylloughby, Nicholas Thorley, William Bonevyle, Thomas le Wekenore, Giles Daubeney, knights, John Westbury, William Stephenes, clerk, Richard Wentworth, and William Pakyn, full possession and seisin of and in the Manor of Mamcestr, co. Lanc., with all its appurtenances, and the advowson and patronage of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Marie of Mamcestre, and also of all the rents and services with their appurtenances in Horwich in the said county of Lancaster, and in all other services, rents, etc., in Mamcestr, Horwiche, and elsewhere within the said county of Lancaster, according to the form and effect of a certain charter of feoffment by me to them thereof made.

“Given the last day of May 1430.”

(Seal broken.)

A few years later, in 1435, Sir Reginald West appoints John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells and Chancellor of England, as one of his trustees relating to the manor of Manchester; and we find the Bishop appointing “John Huntinton, clerk”, then Warden of Manchester, and others, as his attorneys, to receive “full and peaceable possession of and in the manor of Manchester.”

I may here mention that many of these early deeds are beautifully and clearly written, and have appended to them the heraldic seals of the grantors in fair preservation; and I had hoped to have exhibited some

of them this evening, but it was feared that with such a large audience they might accidentally become damaged, and it was considered wiser not to run any risk, as they could not possibly be replaced.

In 1450 one of the trustees for the manor of Manchester, appointed by Sir Reginald West, was no less a person than the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England; but the deed is too long to be here quoted.

Sir Reginald West died in August of this year (1450), and was succeeded by his son and heir, Sir Richard West, the seventh Baron de la Warre. There are not many deeds referring to him in this collection; but on his death, in 1476, he was succeeded by his son, Sir Thomas West, Knt., the eighth Baron de la Warre, Knight of the Garter. But a few years earlier, in 1472, the manor of Manchester had been settled upon him, as shown by the following interesting deed, to which the Archbishop of York and others were parties:—

“Settlement of the Manor of Manchester, etc., by George Archbishop of York, and others, on Thomas West and Alianore, his wife, and their heirs male.

“Let all present and future know that we, George Archbishop of York, William Bishop of Winchester, Maurice Berkeley, knight, Roger Lewkenore, knight, Robert Danby, knight, and Thomas Pounce have demised, and by this our present charter indented confirmed to Thomas West and Alianore, his wife, the Manor or Lordship of Manchester, co. Lanc., together with the advowson of the College and Church (*Collegii & Ecclesie*) of the Blessed Marie of Manchestr aforesaid. To have and to hold to the said Thomas West and Alianore and the heirs male of their bodies lawfully begotten, of the chief lords of the fee, by the services thence due and of right accustomed. And if it happen the said Thomas West and Alianore die without heir male of their bodies lawfully begotten, then the said Manor, etc., shall remain to Richard West, knight, Lord la Warre, father of the said Thomas West, his heirs and assigns for ever, to hold of the chief lords of the fee by the services thence due and of right accustomed.

“Nicholas Raval, clerk, Hugh Garside, and Robert Cutberd, are appointed attorneys to deliver seisin.

“Given at Manchestr the 24 April, 12 Edward IV [1472].”

Sir Thomas West died in Oct. 1525, having held the manor of Manchester for over fifty years, when he was

succeeded by his son and heir, Sir Thomas West, Knt., ninth Baron la Warre. A very full settlement of the manor of Manchester, dated 14 June 1543, is unfortunately too long to be given here; but on his death, in 1554, he was succeeded by his nephew, Sir William West, Knt., the son of his half-brother, Sir George West, Knt. Much scandal attached to this succession, as it was alleged that he had tried to poison his uncle. Certain it is that he was not created Baron de la Warre till many years later, the patent being dated 5 Feb. 1570. In 1581 he entered into negotiations for the sale of the manor of Manchester, and by a deed dated the 18th July, 23rd Elizabeth (1581), made between "John Lacy, citizen and clothworker of London, on the one part, and the Rt. Hon. Sir William West, Knt., Lord la Warre, and Thomas West, Esq., son of the said Lord la Warre, on the other part", the manor of Manchester was conveyed to the former for ever.

From this John Lacey the manor passed, as is well known, to Sir Nicholas Mosley, Lord Mayor of London, the founder of the Mosley family, and it remained in the possession of the Mosleys till it was sold to the Corporation of this city in 1845, as already described.

I much regret that the limited time which is allowed for the reading of papers before this Congress has obliged me to take a very cursory glance over the more interesting of the many old deeds now in the possession of the Corporation. I can only trust that I have shown that they possess sufficient local and general interest to warrant their being printed in the manner already suggested.





“RIDING SKIMMINGTON” AND “RIDING THE STANG.”

BY C. R. B. BARRETT, ESQ., M.A.



IN an early stage of the recent action, *Monson v. Tussaud*, an outcome, as all will remember, of the sensational Ardlamont murder case, one of the Counsel made mention of the “ancient actionable wrong of Riding Skimmington”; which wrong, he stated, enabled a husband to obtain damages at law for reflection cast on his wife.

Only a few weeks previously I had been interested in the subject both of “Riding Skimmington” and the nearly allied ceremony of “Riding the Stang”. The terms in which “Skimmington” was mentioned did not, however, coincide with the view of the subject which I derived from my investigations, and this fact led me to put together a brief paper both on “Skimmington” and the “Stang”,—a paper which I have the honour of reading before this Association to-night.

I shall, I believe, be able to show that though at times erroneously confounded one with the other, the customs of “Riding Skimmington” and “Riding the Stang”¹ are

¹ Dr. Brewer (not a good authority, by the way), under “Stang” writes: “To ride the Stang,—to be under petticoat government. At one time a man who ill treated his wife was made to sit on a ‘stang,’ or pole, hoisted on men’s shoulders. On this uneasy conveyance the ‘stanger’ was carried in procession amidst the hootings and jeerings of his neighbours.” We have also a “stang” or “stanck” (“*pertica, ligneus vectis*”, Coles), a stake or wooden bar or post; and gives as an example of the use of the term,—

“An inundation that o’erbears the banks
And bounds of all religion. If some stancks

essentially different. That there were resemblances in the ritual (if I may use the term) of both customs I am willing to admit; but while “Riding the Stang” was a method of holding up to public contempt the peccant husband or unchaste wife, “Riding Skimmington” was intended to satirise and deride the husband-beater and scold.

The observances of both customs consisted in riotous processions, and these I shall particularise hereafter. In both cases a stang, or stake, was originally used; but in later times, when an exhibition of “Skimmington” disturbed the streets of town or village, the chief actors were mounted, not on a stang, but on a “sorry jade”; and it was probably from the early use of a stang in both cases that the confusion has arisen. The word *stang* (now a North Country word) signifies stake, wooden bar, or post; its probable derivation being the Icelandic *staung*, the term *stong-hesten*, a rod or roddle-horse, being also known.

Among the Goths a pole of infamy, or *nidstaeng*, was set up when either a husband or wife erred; the person on whose account the post was erected being called *niding*, and being held for ever infamous.¹ It is recorded that, following on the denunciations of a bard or poet by name Egill Skallagrim, a *nidstaeng* was erected for Eric Bloddox, King of Norway (A.D. 937?), with the result that King Eric was compelled to desert his throne, and flee his kingdom. But beyond this very early mention there are no records of the customs of either “Skimmington” or “Stang” until the sixteenth century; and I would remark

Shew their emergent heads, like Seth's famed stone,
Th' are monuments of thy devotion gone.”

Poems subj. to R. Fletcher's *Epigrams*.

¹ *Niding*, a coward, a base wretch; *nithing* (Saxon), from *nith*, vileness. Camden says of this word that it has had more force than *abracadabra* or any word of magical use, having levied armies, and subdued rebellious enemies. William Rufus proclaimed that anybody who refused to come to his camp to assist him should be proclaimed *niding*, and that in consequence “they swarmed to him immediately”. Howell, on *Foreign Travels*, says “he is worthy to be called a *niding*, the pulse of whose soul beats but faintly towards Heaven, who will not run and reade his hand to bear up his temple.”

that by that time it was no longer a "post" that was erected (a "post of infamy"), but a human being, or an effigy thereof, mounted on a pole, was carried about the streets when public opinion deemed it needful to correct moral obliquity by "Riding the Stang".

About the same date, *i.e.*, in the sixteenth century, I find the custom of "Riding the Stang" practised in Spain, and the details of the ceremony are given with considerable exactitude, as also are its causes.¹ It is thus described. The husband is mounted on a mule, hand-shackled, and with amazing, large antlers. These antlers were twisted with herbs, having four flags at the top, and three bells. The woman rode another mule, and belaboured her husband with a crabbed stick. Her face was entirely covered with long hair. Behind the pair, on foot, marched a trumpeter bearing a trumpet in his left hand, and a bastinado or strap in his right. Passengers and passers by held up two fingers, hornwise, at them.

Here we have the pair on two beasts, and the connection with the Evil Eye hinted at ; but in Spain this trace is far from uncommon. The name of the ceremony was "Los Cornudos Pacientes", and it was performed when either man or woman had been convicted of misconduct, but specially if the husband was supposed to have either acted in collusion with, or to have profited by, the ill-doing of his spouse.

Scotland made use of the rough and ready method of "Riding the Stang" to rebuke the same faults, *i.e.*, incontinence ; and the custom of "Skimmington", as ridiculing the husband-beater, is also found there.

Callender states that in the North Riding of Yorkshire the "Stang" is a "mark of the highest infamy", and adds that the person who has thus been treated seldom recovers his honour among his neighbours. This certainly points to the view that a lapse from morality was held up to reprobation ; for assuredly the mere fact that a man either suffered himself to be beaten, or was perforce beaten, by his wife could hardly be held to make him for ever infamous.

¹ It is mentioned by Hoefnagle (1591) in his *Views of Seville*.

In Lothian, to return to Scotland, a man who had been convicted of too much attention to his neighbour's wife, was seized, mounted on a stang, and paraded through the town or village. Here it is well to mark that it was the offender himself that was punished,—a condition of things always absent from "Riding Skimmington", as I shall show presently.

Ramsay, in his *Poems* (1721), in a mistaken note, gives the following explanation of "Riding the Stang": "The 'Riding of the Stang' on a woman that hath beat her husband is, as I have described it, by one's riding on a sting, or a long piece of wood, carried by two others on their shoulders, where, like a herauld, he proclaims the woman's name and the manner of her unnatural action." But Ramsay was, I think, inexact, and had confused the two customs, as the authority of Callender and Jamieson supports the opposite view.

"Riding the Stang" spread, as I have said, into England. At the Durham Assizes, as late as 1793, seven men were tried for violently assaulting one Nicholas Lowes of Bishop Wearmouth, and carrying him on a stang; the sentence being two years' imprisonment in Durham Gaol, and to find sureties for three years. But this, again, was not "Skimmington".

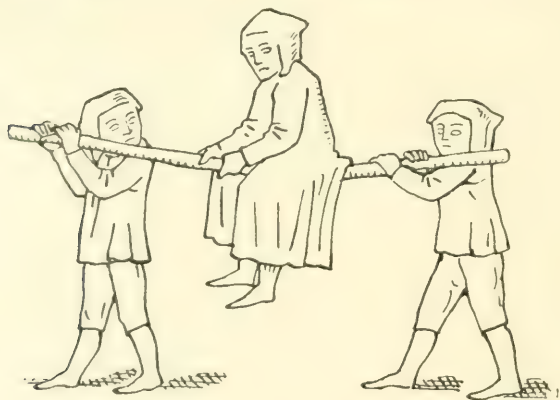
In the *Costume of Yorkshire* (1814), a plate, entitled "Riding the Stang", appears with the following explanation appended, and for purposes of exemplification I will quote this at length: "This ancient provincial custom is still occasionally observed in some parts of Yorkshire, though by no means so frequently as it was formerly. It is, no doubt, intended to expose and ridicule any violent quarrel between man and wife, and more particularly in instances where the pusillanimous husband has *suffered* himself to be beaten by his virago of a partner. A case of this description is here represented, and a party of boys, assuming the office of public censors, are "Riding the Stang."

But, as will be easily seen, the print of 1814 gave a view of a degenerate "Stang". Primarily it was not "boys" who took up the matter more as a joke, but it was a serious rebuke,—nay more, a punishment inflicted

by adults on adults whose conduct had deserved it. The description continues: "This is a pole, supported on the shoulders of two or more of the lads, across which one of them is mounted, beating an old kettle or pan with a stick. He at the same time repeats a speech, or what they call a *nominy*, which, for the sake of detailing the whole ceremony, is here subjoined:—

" With a ran, tan, tan,
On my old tin can,
Mrs. and her good man,
She bang'd him, she bang'd him,
For spending a penny when he stood in need.
She up with a three-footed stool;
She struck him so hard, and she cut so deep,
That the blood ran down like a new-stuck sheep."

Both the account and the print are so far removed from the ancient usage as to be valueless: still it was needful to quote, if only to show how, in later times, the custom had degenerated from its primary intention.



Riding the Stang. From the large Brass at Lynn.

At Cambridge University, in some of the Colleges, there seems to have been a usage in which scholars or sizars (not commoners) were "stanged" for missing chapel. Here the ceremony consisted of riding them round the court or quadrangle on a pole or colt-staff.¹

¹ One authority states that "cole-staff" is a strong pole on which men carried a burden between them: originally, perhaps, of coals. This is improbable, very, as the word is older. In the old play, *Widow's*

Possibly a relic of the custom of "Riding the Stang" may still be traced in America, where an unpopular man runs the risk of being ridden out of township or "city" on a rail, he being at times sartorially decorated with a coat of tar and the contents of a feather-bed.

Up to this point I have been mainly considering the custom of "Riding the Stang". I shall now enter upon the question of "Riding Skimmington".

The earliest mention of "Skimmington" occurs in Strype's *Stowe*, and is as follows: "1562, Shrove Monday, at Charing Cross, was a man carried of four men, and before him a bagpipe playing, a shawm, and a drum beating, and twenty links burning about him. The cause was, his *next neighbour's wife* beat her husband; it being so ordered that the *next* should ride about the place to expose her."

This is the remarkable feature of "Skimmington". It appears that if a woman, let us say at the sign of the "Half Moon", beat her lord and master, the neighbours seized on the man, and often on the man and his wife, at a house on one side or the other of the "Half Moon", and riotously carted them about the street in front of the "Half Moon". It seems inexplicable why, if the wife of B should beat her husband, A and his wife, or C and his wife, should be made fools of by such undignified treatment. And my remarks thereon are borne out by Lup-ton in the dialogue between Sivqila (aliquis) and Omen (nemo) in *Too Good to be True* (1580). In this dialogue Sivqila (aliquis) thus describes the custom, saying, "In some places, with us, if a woman beat her husband, the man that dwelleth next unto hir shall ride on a cowl-staffe, and there is al the punishment she is like to have."

Omen (nemo), in reply, says, "That is rather an un-

Tears,—"I heard since 'twas seen whole o' th' other side the downs, upon a cole-staff, between two huntsmen." Arden of Feversham,— "I and my company have taken the constable from his watch, and carried him about the field on a *colt-staff*." A "pedlar's pack" is sometimes said to be carried on a *cole-staff*. One derivation is from a brewer's *cowl*, in which the wort was carried to the cooler. This gives the coulstaffe of Burton, who thus speaks of witches "riding in the ayre, upon a coulstaffe, out of a chimney-top." (*Anat. of Melancholy*, p. 60.)

comely custome than a good order, for he that is in faintness is undecently used, and the unruly offendor is excused thereby. If this be all the punishment your wives have, that beate their simple husbendes, it is rather a boldning them than a discouraging of some bolde and shameless dames to beate their simple husbendes, to make their neighbours (whom they spite) to ride on a cowle-staffe, rather rejoising and flearing at the riding of their neyghbours than sorrowing or repenting for beating of their husbendes."

Too Good to be True was dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton; it was reprinted in 1584, and again in 1587. The idea of the title coincides with that of the modern *Erewhon* (Nowhere), a kind of Utopia.

I recently saw a bas-relief at Montacute House, in Somersetshire, representing the custom, there called "Skymmetry". This bas-relief extends across the entire end of the hall, opposite to the screen, and consequently above the dais. It occupies the arched space between the coved roof and the panelling. Montacute House was the work of John Thorpe, architect, to whom we also owe both Longleat and Burghley.¹ Montacute House was begun by Sir Edward Phelips in 1580, and occupied many years in building, not being finished until 1601.

The bas-relief is original, and must have been put up between these dates. As a work of art or a decoration little can be said for it; but as an authentic relic of an ancient custom, to us its value is very great.

¹ John Thorpe (*alias* John of Padua) was a remarkable man, as his works show. Little record remains of his life, and that little we owe to Horace Walpole. A portfolio of his plans is still in the Soane Museum, among them being the design which he jocularly made for his own house. This took the form of his monogram. To it were attached the following lines:—

"These two letters, I and T,
Joined together as you see,
Is meant a dwelling house for me.

John Thorpe."

The offices, I, being joined to the main house, T, by a corridor, represented by the hyphen. This is a most singular example of a monogram plan for a dwelling-house, but unfortunately it was never completed, or even begun.

As I have remarked, at Montacute the custom is called "Skymmety". Elsewhere in Somersetshire I have heard it called "Skimmerton", and the compiler of the *Somersetshire Glossary* has the following entry under this heading: "Skimmerton, the effigy of a man or woman unfaithful to marriage vows, carried about on a pole, accompanied by rough music from cows' horns and frying-pans. Formerly it consisted of two persons riding on a horse, back to back, with ladles and marrow-bones in hand, and was intended to ridicule a hen-pecked husband."

In Somersetshire the natives swear by this compilation, and it is, therefore, vain to point out to them that in the first portion of the description the compiler has confused "Skimmington" with the custom of "Mommets" or "Mommicks", while it is absurd to state that "Skimmington" *formerly* meant that which it means now.

Thirty years ago, on Ilchester Meads, I saw the custom of "Mommets" or "Mommicks" performed. The word *mommet* is derived from *mome*, a blockhead, and sometimes a buffoon. The French have *momer*, to go in disguise, etc., whence our mummary. It was a weird scene I witnessed. It was in front of a house in a long, squalid row of glovers' dwellings on the outskirts of the then much decayed borough of Ilchester. Certain inhabitants of that notoriously immoral region had overstepped even the wide bounds of lax morality there obtaining; consequently an effigy was carried on a pole by men whose faces were blackened, and whose shirts took the place of great coats. The procession passed up and down in front of the dwelling of the offenders, amid an accompaniment of tin kettles, marrow-bones, and cleavers, and ribald jests. The cause fully justified the indignation which the proceedings were intended to convey.

To a print dated 1639, in *Divers Crab-Tree Lectures*, we are indebted for a view of a husband-beater, labelled "Skimmington and her Husband." The same print is again used for "Skimmington's Lecture to her Husband, which is the errand Scold." To this second print the following quatrain is appended:

"But all shall not serve thee,
 For have at thy pate.
 My ladle of the crab-tree
 Shall teach thee to cogge and to prate."

But the most celebrated and detailed account of "Skimmington" is to be found in Butler's *Hudibras*, Part II, canto 2, published first in 1664.¹ It is, unfortunately, far too lengthy to quote. Suffice it to say that Ralpho and Hudibras were quarrelling, when this dispute was stopped by the din of an approaching procession of "Skimmington"—

....."horns, and pans, and dogs, and boys,
 And kettledrums whose sullen dub
 Sounds like the hooping of a tub."

The procession approached nearer, and

"They found it was an antique show ;
 A triumph that for pomp and state
 Did proudest Romans emulate."

Then follows the description of the procession, in which, I may add, grossness of expression is not lacking. Hudibras remarks :—

"In all my life till now
 I ne'r saw so profane a show.
 It is a paganish invention
 Which heathen writers often mention,"

etc., etc., till Ralpho cuts short his remarks with,—

"You mistake the matter ;
 For all th'antiquity you smatter
 Is but a riding us'd of course
 When 'the grey mare 's the better horse'."

¹ Knight, in *Old England* (vol. ii), quotes *Hudibras*, but has an illustration which is not Hogarth's,—a long procession wending its way towards a church, of men, women, boys, and girls,—1, men blowing horns; 2, mounted man bearing petticoat-banner; 3, a mob with marrow-bones, cleavers, and cows' horns, and a bagpiper; 4, mounted man with basket of eggs and ladle (the derivation of "Skimmington" is from a skimming ladle); 5, another mounted man with petticoat-banner; 6, "Skimmington", man and wife, back to back, on carthorse,—man with distaff, woman with crabbed stick; 7, on left, kettledrummer and woman with marrow-bone and cleaver; 8, on right, marrow-bones and cleavers, and an old man with inverted kettle on his back, which is beaten by another with bones.

How the Knight and Ralpho attacked the procession, and were routed, I need not relate. Hogarth's illustration of this incident in *Hudibras* is probably so well known that I will not weary you with a description.¹

In King's *Miscellany Poems* the same idea is conveyed, but another detail is introduced, viz., the sweeping before the doors of other people, at houses where a scold was suspected of dwelling :—

"When the young people ride the Skimmington
There is a general trembling in a town ;
Not only he for whom the person rides
Suffers, but they sweep other doors besides ;
And by that Hieroglyphic does appear
That the good woman is the master there."

In vol. i of *State Poems* (1703) the custom is called

"A punishment invented first to awe
Masculine wives transgressing Nature's law,
Where, when the brawny female disobeys,
And beats her husband 'til for peace he prays,
No concern'd jury damage for him finds,
Nor partial justice her behaviour binds,
But the just street does the *next house* invade,
Mounting the *neighbour couple* on lean jade.
The distaff knocks, the grains from kettle fly,
And boys and girls in troops run headlong by."

Butler is, however, the first who mentions the substitution of a horse for a pole. The couple, it would seem, in the seventeenth century, were mounted back to back, the man being behind. Misson, in his travels, gives a variant in the ceremony :—"I have sometimes met in the streets of London", he writes, "a woman carrying a figure of straw, representing a man crowned with very ample horns, preceded by a drum, and followed by a mob making a most grating noise with tongs, gridirons, frying-

¹ Hogarth's print.—On right, Ralpho's horse is being routed by the linkman ; crowd with marrow-bones, cleavers, cows' horns, etc., and the kettle on man's back. One mounted man bears a smock on a pole, with horns at the top ; another has eggs and a ladle, and casting one at Hudibras ; a third has a petticoat on a pole ; a fourth a reversed, cross hilted sword, with a gauntlet and spurs ; "Skimmington" and her husband armed respectively with a ladle and a distaff. One man, on right, is just about to throw a dead cat at Hudibras, who, having met the leader, is about to draw his sword.

pans, and saucepans. I asked what was the meaning of all this. They told me that a woman had given her husband a sound beating for questioning her fidelity, and that upon such occasions some kind neighbour of the poor, innocent, injured creature generally performed this ceremony."

Bagford, in the first volume of Leland's *Collectanea*, mentions an old statute concerning "Skimmington"; but I have been, despite much search, quite unable to obtain chapter and verse for this alleged statute.

Grose, describing "Skimmington", says that the man rode behind the woman, with his face to the tail of the horse, and held a distaff, the woman beating him about the head with a ladle. When the procession passed the house where the husband-beater lived, or where any woman was suspected of being paramount, each gave the threshold a sweep. The same explanation is given by Sir Walter Scott in *The Fortunes of Nigel*,—"Hark ye, dame Ursley Suddlechop", said Jenkin starting up, his eyes flashing with anger, "remember I am none of your husband; and if I were, you would do well not to forget whose threshold was swept when they last 'rode Skimmington' upon such another scolding jade as yourself." It is difficult, however, to see the difference between a warning sweep and the actual performance of "Skimmington". In both cases the disgrace, if any, must have been the same.

In discussing the question of these now obsolete customs I have relied, in the main, on absolute documentary evidence. Speculation is at times useful, but if too generally employed is misleading: hence, chancing an accusation of padding, I have quoted freely. I have endeavoured to show that "Riding the Stang", in its real sense, is a different custom from "Riding Skimmington", despite the resemblances in the ritual of the ceremony; that while the first dealt with serious lapses on the part of husband or wife, the last merely ridiculed the husband-beater.





DEVA : ON SOME TRACES OF A BUILDING
DISCOVERED WEST OF THE FORUM,
CHESTER, 1894.

BY FRANK H. WILLIAMS.

(Read 6th June 1894.)



IN February last, when viewing an excavation made for the purpose of extending the cellarage behind the premises of Messrs. Quellyn, Roberts, and Co., on the south side of Watergate Street, I noticed what at first sight appeared to be a light-coloured stratum amongst filled-in rubbish, for much of the ground was of this nature. A closer examination, however, proved it to be concrete, and unmistakably Roman. The finding of some broken sandstone *pila* and the portion of a column-base, some days before, suggested the probability that other and *in situ* remains might not be far distant. Such proved the case, of which the concrete and certain vestiges of walls were the first evidence. With these bare facts you are already acquainted ; but since writing, having repeatedly visited the spot, it is my privilege to lay before you such additional notes as my limited opportunities permitted me to make.

Before attempting a description of the remains themselves, it may be well to say a few words as to the position of the site and its surroundings.

The chief part of Messrs. Roberts' establishment consists of one of the earliest and most perfect of our crypts, a Gothic structure of the twelfth century ; in length divided by three pillars supporting its groined roof ; the present frontage being a yard or so in advance of what was the original entrance, and the floor some 2 or 3 ft. below the level of the street. A pointed doorway at the further end opens into a passage, and this again into a

lateral cellar to the east ; the passage terminating in a thick stone wall of mediæval date, running east and west. Beyond this is a warehouse, in the occupation of Messrs. Wood and Sons, ironmongers, and under which it was decided to form the new cellar.

I might have spoken of the site in connection with the last-named establishment, and said that the remains were found behind them ; that is, west of Bridge Street, where the two properties adjoin. This it is necessary to point out to those not familiar with Chester, and to observe that this street marks the direction taken by the *via*, which, running north and south, passed through, and near here constituted the open area of, the Forum of *Deva*. In 1863, when removing the foundations of an old hostelry called "The Feathers", on the opposite side of the street, the remains of a columnar building were discovered, which it is conjectured formed part of the *Basilica* ; and that to the south, and continuous with it, had been the *Thermæ*.¹

Retracing our steps, we will now consider the vestiges lately disclosed. Whatever the use of the building (and this, perhaps, you may be able to determine), it was evidently one of a line of edifices which, opening into the Forum, formed its western limits. The site is more to the north than that of any Roman structure previously found on this side of Bridge Street ; indeed, so near Watergate Street (known to be practically on the lines of the western portion of the *via principalis*) that it seems not unlikely one of the entrances of the building may have been so approached. Had the work of excavation been watched by some archæologist in complete command of his time, the position of other vestiges of walls might have been preserved. With these minor exceptions, however, the whole of the remains are given on the accompanying plan. Some of the facts recorded have been secured through the willing co-operation of the workmen, and the information so derived shall be noted as I proceed.

¹ A full and excellent account of this, with illustrations, by Dr. T. N. Brushfield, is printed in the *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, vol. iii, pp. 1-106.

A cutting was first made on the north, near the mediæval wall which still exists, forming the boundary at this end of the cellar. This was followed by a trench for the east wall, the width and position of which is shown at A, a, B, b, and in commencement at the time of my first visit. The dotted portions of plan near these cross-walls show the position of the concrete, though not completely the extent traced, for it was to be observed, in places, as a corresponding line on the other side of the trench. That this had formed the floor of a hypocaust was subsequently proved by the finding of a *pila* (I) built of tiles, probably *tegulæ*. Shortly afterwards, and during my absence, two other pillars (II, III), and close together, were taken out, and the latter one preserved by a workman for my inspection. Of *pila* II he only kept a single tile, which is portion of a *tegula*, and bears the legionary stamp, LEG XX VV.¹ The other one (III) having been carefully removed, I saw much in the state in which it was found. This also was formed of roof-tiles, eight layers of which were remaining, the binding material being clay, with mortar in some places. The *tegulæ* composing it were about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, and most of the layers formed of two, three, or more pieces fitted together, with the outer edges, where necessary, chipped straight, the sides of the pillar measuring $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. On breaking this up it was seen that no lettered portions of tiles had chanced to occur in its construction. These pillars were found resting on the concrete in their original position, and I was told that the lowermost tile of at least one of them was of larger area, by way of base; also that some upper courses of the two adjoining the wall B had been bonded into it,—a feature which will be noticed occurred elsewhere. Another brick *pila*, but isolated, was mentioned as having been found near the place marked X.

Surrounding the *pila* was a thick mass of roof-tiles, more or less imperfect, resting upon and intermixed with charcoal, and suggesting the idea that the destruction of

¹ A weak impression from a roughly formed matrix. The two V's are separate, *i.e.*, not superimposed. On this tile, as in the case of some others found in the excavation, the mark made by the finger of the maker is serpentine.

the building had been completed by fire. The *suspensura* (of which, however, no vestige remained) must in this case have been torn up before the burning of the roof, for the *tegulae* to have fallen as they were found. A more probable explanation may be that the tiles and other *débris* were thrown in during the levelling operations of some later period. The most perfect of them lay flat upon the concrete, surface upwards; but though cautiously taken out, separated into several pieces, evidently from old fractures.¹

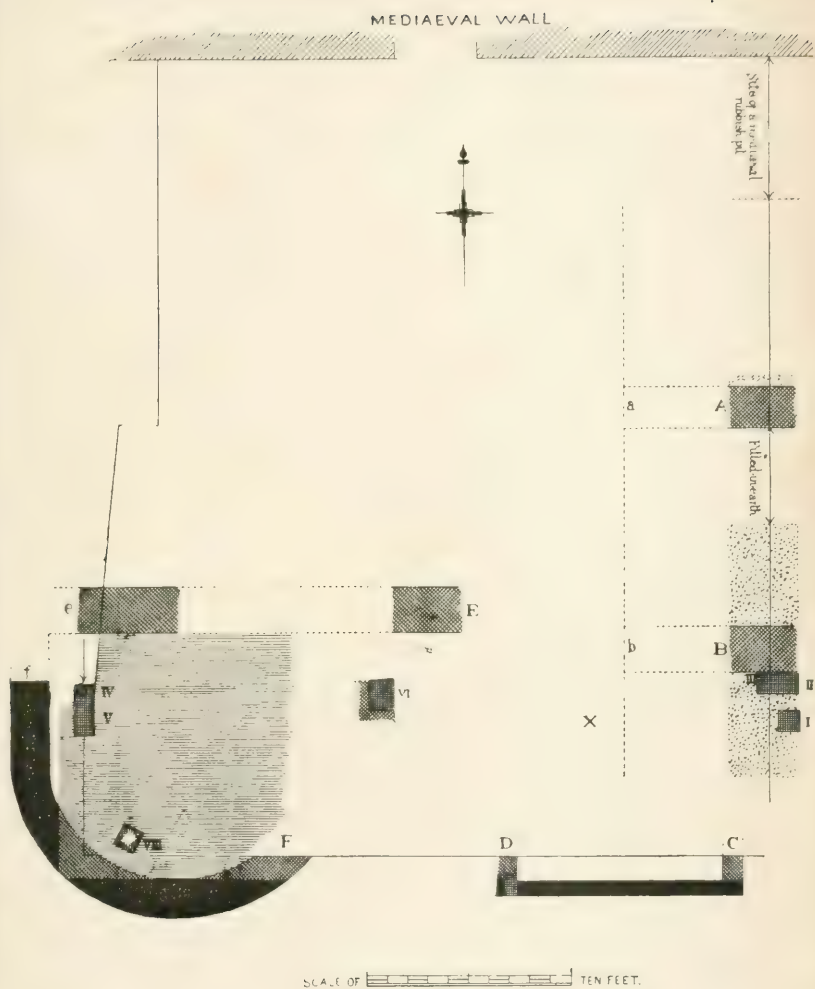
Of broken sandstone *pila* four halves were found. One occurred near this place, in forming the trench; another at the north part of the excavation; the third I cannot say where; but none of these apparently *in situ*. The fourth, and last found, however, was, and will be noticed when I speak of the portion of the building in which it was situated.²

In proceeding with the excavation from c towards f, for the south boundary of the cellar, two other walls were met with, viz., those marked c and d. In c were two bonding courses of tiles (*tegulae*). d marks a similar wall, but without tiles so employed; yet at that portion of it numbered vii it was formed entirely of them,—one upon another, in the manner of a *pila*, an upper layer of which has continued for a foot or two, like a bonding course, into the thinner wall connecting the last named with the wall c. Another example of a tile-pillar forming part of a wall was met with at vi. In this instance, however, *lateres*, 3 in. in thickness, had been employed.

The last found, and most interesting portion of the building, must now be described. In order to excavate for the cellar it was necessary to uphold the warehouse (*i.e.*, its

¹ This, which is in the possession of Messrs. Roberts, measures 16 by 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. The stamp is of the usual formula, LEG XX VV, clearly impressed, and with well formed letters, the two final ones overlapping. The maker's mark is of the serpentine variety previously described. The flanges were wanting when found.

² One of the first of these is preserved, with some other relics from the site, in the old crypt. The size of the base is 12 by 14 in. The *pila* is broken away at about the centre of its original height. It now stands 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. A perfect example may also be seen here, but though found in Chester has no connection with this excavation.



ENW. more at Del. 1894

DEVA—A PLAN OF REMAINS FOUND WEST OF THE FORUM, 1894.

wooden roof and supporting iron pillars) by an arrangement of cross-timbers. When making a hole for one of the props, west of the place just mentioned, some *lateres* were taken out, which I was told were found set edge to edge, like the tiles of an ordinary floor. They measured 16 by $11\frac{1}{2}$ in., and were $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness. Others, however, subsequently discovered, and from the same pavement, were 17 by $11\frac{3}{4}$ in.; in thickness tapering from $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the other end, and though so used, had evidently been designed as *voussoir*-tiles for turning arches.¹

The excavation progressing, the portion of a wall marked F was encountered, and on removing the remaining soil the greater part of an apse, as shown on the plan, was laid bare; the whole of the area indicated by shading being continuously tiled in the manner described. These tiles were bedded in sandy marl, and in the immediate vicinity of the apse-wall had been broken, the better to accommodate them to its curve.

I carefully watched the removal of this last destroyed portion of the floor, and beneath the bed in which the tiles were set took out from the *débris* between it and the underlying rock some pieces of concrete, the surfaces of which were tessellated with dark, slate-coloured (lias) and white (chalk) stones. These occurred both upwards and with the tessellated surface reversed, and so appear to have been taken by the Roman builders from some earlier and ruined pavement, here to be utilised as leveling material. The least imperfect of three fragments I met with measures about $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., in which are some twenty-five *tessellæ* remaining, the surface of the largest of them being $\frac{5}{8}$ by $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. The work is rather coarse, and probably from the border of a pavement, though there are not sufficient of the *tessellæ* left to give an idea of its pattern. When rubbed, the chalk-stones leave a white mark on the finger, showing their

¹ None of the *lateres* bore any signs save the cursive marks of the maker: indeed, *stamps on tiles* seem to have been almost exclusively confined to the *tegula*. In the Mayer Museum, Liverpool, is an example of a small tile of the kind used in herringbone pavements, found in Chester, with the legionary stamp. On *antefixa* the title of the Devan legion, with its *signum*, the boar, is rendered ornamentally conspicuous.

partial decay. Another piece is ordinary tile-concrete ground smooth for a floor.

The tile-pavement of the apse was at a rather lower level than the stratum of concrete at the south east angle of the ground, but, like it, had supported the pillars of a hypocaust. The lower half of a sandstone *pila*, the base measuring about $13\frac{1}{2}$ by 14 in., and 14 in. in height, was found *in situ*. This, just after its removal, I saw, and on the testimony of the workman have given on the plan, at VIII. On the same authority I have marked the position of the tiles IV and V. They were thick *lateres*, and appear to have formed the first layer of *pilæ* in the line of a wall which it was asserted ran in the direction shown by the arrow from wall e.

Regarding the plan, it should be mentioned that the shaded portions of walls are those I saw, and the parts given in solid black such as, lying without the course of the new brickwork, still exist; also that the single line marks the inner face of this 14 in. wall, its outer side (not, however, shown) being practically the limit at which remains could be seen.

At the time when the apse was disclosed, the western wall of the cellar had been completed southwards to the arrow-point, and this will serve to explain why I must speak doubtfully of the return of the apse-wall given as the angle e, f. The course of this wall at f was determined by a rod pushed through the intervening soil;¹ but the brickwork having, as stated, already been erected from the north up to this point, an examination, which might by probing have decided the question concerning the apse-angle, was thus rendered impossible.

Another point must be noted, viz., that the extension of the walls from A to a and B to b is also in some degree conjectural; for though I measured the distance from one to the other, at the section exposed on the east side of the trench, I cannot be certain they preserved a parallel course; and, indeed, was told that the wall from the point E ran in a south-easterly curve towards the portion of masonry at B. Had the excavation consisted in the

¹ Further investigation was not attempted, as a most ruinous old wall was here shored up for underpinning.

deepening of the entire area instead of the widening or development of trenches, a more complete plan might have been secured ; and though it was possible for me to have inserted other connecting lines, as I was not certain of their exact position, I thought it safer to omit them.

During the year 1876 the premises of Messrs. Wood were rebuilt, and when clearing the ground many tiles with legionary stamps similar to those before mentioned were found, and amongst them one which bore additional letters, and arranged in two lines.¹ One of the labourers, who had also assisted in this previous excavation, spoke of some *in situ* remains which he remembered were there met with. These, from what I could gather, were brick *pilæ* and portions of walls, evidently belonging to the eastern extension of the Roman building.

In a former communication I had occasion to mention Commonhall Street, a way running westwards from Bridge Street, and some yards distant from the south end of the site, though lying parallel to it, and, there is evidence to show, on the lines of the most northern of the small *viæ* on this side of the Forum.²

The fifth volume of the Association's *Journal* contains a paper by the late Mr. Charles Roach Smith on the "Roman Remains of Chester", where, under the head *Commonhall Street*, he gives an account of discoveries there made *circa* 1849. This you will, please, allow me to quote at length :—

"Up the centre, a row of foundations formed of concrete (broken marble-stones in hard mortar), about 9 ft. apart, all in a line, and about 10 ft. deep, presenting the appearance of having supported columns. A large square block of stone, 4 ft. 2 in. square, and 16 in. deep, without lewis-holes, on a bed of concrete. A portion of a column of very debased classical form, about 2 ft. in diameter ;

¹ This is figured in the *Roman Cheshire* of the late Mr. Watkin, p. 119, and is the first recorded specimen of this formula. Two others have, however, been since found in other parts of the city, viz., from the ruins of a villa at Blackfriars, 1886, and from near the foundations of the tower called "Pemberton's Parlour", in 1893.

² South of this, again, are Mill Lane (or Pierpoint Street) and White Friars, both of which have been preserved as thoroughfares since the Roman period.

at the top is a hole, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. square, and the same deep, and a similar hole at the bottom ; the square part seems never to have been smoothly dressed ; the workmen said it was fast to the grouted concrete at the depth of 10 ft.; mouldings, broken tiles, and pottery, coins of Pius, Tetricus, etc.; a quantity of animals' bones, a stag's skull with the horns sawn off, and a wild boar's tusk. In the adjoining street, a moulded block of cornice, 8 in. thick, on the under side of which is a rude inscription (see fig., p. 224); embedded in a thick wall, at the same place, a pig of lead ; a capital of a pillar. The tiles are of various forms, some overlapping one another ; some with a kind of pattern or letters, others with marks of animals' feet. One, perfect, 21 in. by 13, of singular form. Also what appears to have been a portion of a gable-end."

From Mr. Smith's description it is evident that the foundations were those of pillars of a portico or colonnade running either along the southern boundary of the block in the midst of which our building was situated, or forming the covered walk to that on the other side of the *via*. A similar arrangement of columns has been met with at Mill Lane and Whitefriars.

The tile "of singular form" above referred to was for many years preserved in the Water Tower Collection, but is now in the Grosvenor Museum, having been presented to this institution, with a selection from other local antiquities at the Tower, by the Town Council in 1883. Of this an illustrative woodcut accompanies Mr. Smith's notice, though unfortunately he has not given his opinion as to the purpose for which the tile was made. This, and the fact that two portions of similar ones occurred in the present excavation, are my reasons for directing your attention to the matter.

Though obviously not intended for covering (*i.e.*, roof) tiles, it may be convenient to apply the term *tegulae* when speaking of them ; and correctly, in that the process of their manufacture appears in certain respects identical. In order to make a roof-tile there must have been a level surface (for example, that of a board, or slab of stone) and two other pieces placed on their edges, and parallel, the distance between them being that of the

width or lesser dimensions of the proposed tile; and again two more, limiting the parallelogram in length. This matrix, after being well sanded, received a mass of clay which was smoothed or pressed to the thickness desired, and the ridges made by working up the clay against the lateral "cheeks". The tile, after being taken out, was "signed" with some cursive symbol; notched, to accommodate the narrower end of an overwrapping tile; impressed with the legionary stamp; trimmed; and set aside for drying.

The points in which the tiles first mentioned differ from ordinary *tegulæ* are,—(1), that the ridges are not continuous, but may be described as though they had been cut away, with the exception of four short lengths or "lugs", two on each side, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. from either end; though actually I believe them to have been roughly moulded, probably by working the clay up to wooden shapes, and afterwards trimmed with a knife; (2), that the back or reverse faces bear diagonal lines scored lozenge-wise. Where this surface-roughening is met with (as in the case of flue-tiles) we know that the tile was intended to be placed in a vertical position, and the scoring to assist in retaining it against the plastered surface of a wall, and have thus a clue that these also must have been used in connection with the heating arrangements of a hypocaust, though precisely how is not quite clear.¹

The two fragments are shown in the accompanying photograph. One bears the legionary stamp, but faintly impressed, and partially obscured by a calcareous incrustation, the *signum* of the maker being serpentine. The second, or smaller piece, differs in that the finger-mark is formed like a loop; and though but little of the tile remains, has, I imagine, never been *stamped*. I venture to suggest this because the only perfect specimen (that in the Museum) is "*signed*" in the same manner, and also has no *impression*. I do not remember having seen

¹ So far as my experience goes, and the tiles are certainly uncommon. Since writing, however, I have seen a notice of some Roman remains found at Colchester in 1849, and communicated to the Association by Mr. William Wire. In this he gives a description of what appear to be similar tiles; but the reader must judge. See *Journal*, vol. v, pp. 86-87.

such looped figures on any of the local tiles save these two; and it is noteworthy that a *tegula* stamped ALE. SEBVSA, which was found at Lancaster, bears a cursive mark of this identical form, but preceded by two vertical strokes, II.¹ It might be argued that these Chester tiles were also made by soldiers of the same *ala*; but this question I must leave for the consideration of those learned in such matters, merely observing that the absence of the legionary stamp on the latter would afford some slight support in the way of negative evidence.

Before quitting the subject of tiles, I should mention that a few imperfect *imbrices*, used in covering the ridges of roofs, were also met with; and two examples of thick *lateres*, which were perforated, as though by means of a pointed stick, with holes a few inches apart.² Similar tiles, found amongst the remains of the presumed *Basilica*, are described by Dr. Brushfield, the holes, as he remarks, having doubtless been made to prevent the clay from warping.³ A familiar illustration of this principle may be seen in biscuits, which are pricked to ensure their remaining flat in the process of baking.

On another photograph are given two characteristic examples of *tegulae* with legionary stamps; the terminal v's in one being separate, in the other conjoined. They also serve to show two varieties of the makers' marks, viz., that I have described as serpentine, and another, the only one of frequent occurrence. This, which varies from a semicircle to a horseshoe in shape, consists either of a single line or several parallel ones formed by the finger or fingers of the workman.

Having described the building and remains pertaining thereto, I have little more to add. As before mentioned, the site had evidently been much disturbed in mediæval times, especially the more northern part. At the north-east angle a distinct rubbish-pit, of apparently fifteenth century date, was met with, containing horns, bones, pieces of pottery, etc., whilst scattered at different levels

¹ A representation of this may be found in either the *Roman Lancashire*, p. 176, or *Roman Cheshire*, p. 122, of the late Mr. Watkin.

² Tile No. v, west of the apse, was one of these.

³ See *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, vol. iii, pp. 69-70.

were shreds and various objects contemporary with the deposits.

My paper being already somewhat lengthy, I must leave the consideration of these for some future occasion, and conclude with a notice of the few miscellaneous articles of the Roman period which were found. These were some slight remains of pottery and one or two objects in metal. Of the former, the only worth naming are the fragment of a Samian bowl with the figure of a deer, and a piece from the side of a shallow dish, 2 in. in depth, of Upchurch pottery. The fragment is apparently about one-seventh of the whole vessel, the segment being that of a circle 13 in. in diameter. On the outer side of the dish, which is slightly splayed, is a basket-like pattern of overwrapping curves, formed by lightly tracing the clay, before baking, with some blunt instrument. A similar pattern is repeated on its under or hidden surface.

The objects in metal may also be described in a few words, and two only were found which can with certainty be called Roman, and one is an ordinary coin, though the uncommon character of the other in some measure compensates for the marked absence of ordinary relics usually found in such excavations.

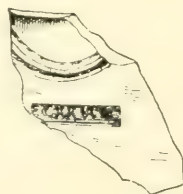
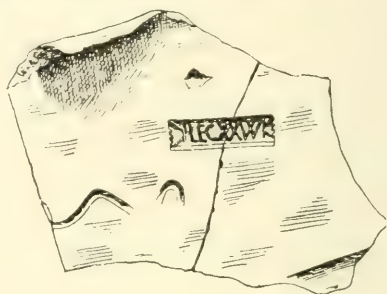
I had told the men to carefully watch for any fragments of metal bearing that green rust so dear to antiquarian eyes, and, as is my practice, impressed upon them the necessity of tenderly handling any "buckles", etc., they might find. Thus the object now to be described was saved. Escaping the observation of those digging near the apse, it was detected by one of the labourers in wheeling away the earth. This, as he had found it, an almost undistinguishable mass of oxide, I received, and after cleaning saw was the remains of a pair of scales, the beam of which, by an ingenious arrangement, had been made to fold.¹ The only other examples with which I am acquainted are two preserved in the British Museum, of the existence of which I was informed by Mr. Cecil Smith, who most considerately made drawings of them for comparison with the one I possess. One is from Melbourne (Cambridge), in the Department of British Anti-

¹ See drawing on next page.

quities ; and the other in that of the Greek and Roman, the locality of its find being unfortunately not recorded. In both the principle is the same, whilst the latter and mine seem identical in form as well as size. It so happens that the parts wanting in the one exist in the other.



ROMAN BALANCE.



TILES.

Thus, in the Chester specimen the looped end of the remaining arm is missing, while shown in that at the Museum. Again, mine still retains the attachment or handle by which the scales were suspended, in which respect the other is defective.

The solitary coin mentioned, also found near the apse, is of third brass size, and has for its obverse two soldiers holding spears, and a couple of standards between them ; the *gloria exercitus* type of, probably, Constantine II.¹ A piece of bronze, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and resembling a linch-pin, was also found, as well as some lumps of lead of irregular form, which a speculative antiquary might accept as further evidences of the building having been destroyed by fire ; adding that the pig of lead previously found marked the site of the *ærarium* of Roman Chester, and that the scales belonged to an *argentarius* whose *taberna* was here.

¹ This I submitted to Mr. Robert Blair of South Shields, and he is of the same opinion.

British Archaeological Association.

FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL CONGRESS,

MANCHESTER, 1894.

MONDAY, JULY 30TH, TO SATURDAY, AUGUST 4TH.

PATRON.

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

PRESIDENT.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., EARL
MARSHAL

THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.

THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.,
G.C.S.I.

THE EARL OF DUCIE, F.R.S.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE

THE EARL OF LATHOM, G.C.B.

THE EARL NELSON

THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE,
D.C.L.

THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOT-
TINGHAM

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF
ST. DAVID'S, D.D.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF
ELY, D.D.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF
LIVERPOOL, D.D.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF
LLANDAFF, D.D., F.S.A.

THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF
MANCHESTER

LORD HOUGHTON, F.S.A.

LORD KNUTSFORD, G.C.M.G.

THE LORD MAYOR OF MANCHESTER

THE LORD MAYOR OF LIVERPOOL

THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP CRAMER-
ROBERTS, D.D.

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF MAN-
CHESTER, D.D.

SIR CHAS. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, BART.

SIR ALBERT WOODS, K.C.M.G., C.B.,
F.S.A., Garter King of Arms

THE MAYOR OF BURNLEY

THE MAYOR OF CHORLEY

THE MAYOR OF SALFORD

THE MAYOR OF STOCKPORT

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.Z.S.

C. BROWN, Esq., Deputy Mayor of
Chester

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.

CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.

ARTHUR CATES, Esq.

J. M. CHEETHAM, Esq., M.P.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.

WILLIAM H. COPE, Esq., F.S.A.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,
LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

SIR AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, K.C.B.,
Litt.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.

JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

J. W. MACLURE, Esq., M.P.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A.

J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.,
F.G.S., F.R.G.S.

REV. CANON W. S. SIMPSON, D.D.,
F.S.A.

JOSEPH THOMPSON, Esq., Alderman,
Chairman of Owens College Council.

E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.,
Principal Librarian, British Museum

A. W. WARD, Esq., Litt.D., LL.D.,
Principal of Owens College and Vice-
Chancellor of the Victoria Univer-
sity.

ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A.

GENERAL LOCAL COMMITTEE.

J. H. ANDREWS, Esq.
 REV. CANON ANSON, M.A.
 W. T. ARNOLD, Esq.
 J. W. BEAUMONT, Esq.
 REV. ROBT. BIRLEY, M.A.
 H. H. SMITH CARRINGTON, Esq.
 H. SANDFORD CLAYE, Esq.
 PROF. W. BOYD DAWKINS, M.A.,
 F.R.S., F.S.A.
 J. W. EDELSTON, Esq.
 REV. S. HAILSTONE
 JAMES HALL, Esq.
 S. E. HAWORTH, Esq.
 A. F. HERFORD, Esq.
 EDW. S. HEYWOOD, Esq.
 WM. JOHNSON, Esq.
 THOS. KAY, Esq., J.P.
 PROF. D. J. LEECH, M.D.
 C. MITCHELL, Esq.
 J. NORBURY, Esq.
 E. G. PALEY, Esq.
 HERBERT PHILIPS, Esq.
 REV. A. D. POWELL, M.A.
 J. H. RIMMER, Esq., M.A., LL.M.
 W. O. ROPER, Esq.
 PROF. ARTHUR SCHUSTER, Ph.D.,
 F.R.S.

FRANCIS SMITH, Esq.
 REV. J. H. STANNING, M.A.
 PROF. T. F. TOUT, M.A.
 PROF. A. S. WILKINS, LL.D., D.Litt.
 T. R. WILKINSON, Esq.
 G. B. LANCASTER WOODBURNE, Esq.
 ALDERMAN JAMES HOY, Manchester
 ALDERMAN J. MARK ,,
 ALDERMAN J. F. ROBERTS ,,
 ALDERMAN HUGO SHAW ,,
 ALDERMAN P. KEEVNEY, Salford
 ALDERMAN J. SHAW ,,
 COUNCILLOR T. C. ABBOTT, Manchester
 COUNCILLOR W. T. BAX ,,
 COUNCILLOR J. GRANTHAM ,,
 COUNCILLOR J. H. GREENHOW ,,
 COUNCILLOR J. HAMPSON ,,
 COUNCILLOR EDW. HOLT ,,
 COUNCILLOR H. RAWSON ,,
 COUNCILLOR W. T. ROTHWELL ,,
 COUNCILLOR J. WARD ,,
 COUNCILLOR S. B. WORTHINGTON ,,
 COUNCILLOR J. FRANKENBURG, Salford
 COUNCILLOR J. GRIFFITHS ,,
 COUNCILLOR W. G. GROVES ,,

LOCAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR OF MANCHESTER, *Chairman.*

SAMUEL ANDREW, Esq.
 W. E. A. AXON, Esq., F.R.S.L.
 SIR W. H. BAILEY (Mayor of Salford)
 C. TALLENT-BATEMAN, Esq.
 H. T. CROFTON, Esq.
 J. P. EARWAKER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 LIEUT.-COL. H. FISHWICK, F.S.A.
 MAJOR G. J. FRENCH
 W. H. GUEST, Esq.
 W. HARRISON, Esq.

NATHAN HEYWOOD, Esq.
 T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A.
 REV. E. F. LETTS, M.A.
 H. COLLEY MARCH, Esq., M.D., F.S.A.
 ALBERT NICHOLSON, Esq.
 GEORGE PEARSON, Esq.
 G. H. ROWBOTHAM, Esq.
 CHAS. W. SUTTON, Esq.
 J. P. WILKINSON, Esq., C.E.

J. HOLME NICHOLSON, Esq., M.A.,
 Wilmslow, Cheshire,
 GEO. C. YATES, Esq., F.S.A.,
 Swinton, Manchester, } *Hon. Local Secretaries.*

THOS. LETHERBROW, Esq., *Hon. Treasurer.*

(MESSRS. CUNLIFFES, BROOKS & Co.'s Bank, Manchester.)



Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, JULY 30.

THE members and visitors who had provided themselves with Congress tickets assembled at the Town Hall at 12 o'clock, noon, where the reception by the Right Hon. Sir Anthony Marshall, the Lord Mayor, took place. After adjournment for luncheon, a visit was paid, at 2 o'clock, to Manchester Cathedral, where the various antiquarian features of the fabric were examined under the guidance of the Very Rev. the Dean and the Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A., who conducted the party round the building, and pointed out the numerous details of interest.

At 3.15 the party left the Cathedral, and proceeded to Cheetham's Hospital. Some of the members then made their way to Owens College, to inspect the Museum, under the guidance of the Keeper, W. E. Hoyle, Esq., M.A. A synopsis of the chief objects of antiquarian interest was kindly presented to each member.

By the kind invitation of the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress a *conversazione* was held in the Town Hall, which was largely attended.

CHESTER EXCURSION.—TUESDAY, JULY 31st.

The members proceeded by train to Chester, *via* Warrington, at 9.40, arriving at 10.58. They were met in Chester by Alderman Charles Brown, Deputy Mayor, and other friends, who conducted the party to St. John's Church and the ruins of the Priory. Afterwards a visit was paid to the City Walls, where they inspected the Roman portions of the masonry recently laid open to observation, the hypocaust, and Pemberton's Parlour.

At 1.30 the party assembled at the Guildhall, and were received by the Mayor of Chester, Mr. Alderman Leonard Gilbert, and entertained at luncheon on the invitation of Mr. Alderman Charles Brown.

At 2.30 the party made its way to the Cathedral, where the principal features of interest were pointed out by Ven. Archdeacon Barber.

Leaving the Cathedral, the party visited the Grosvenor Museum,

containing a large collection of relics of Roman Deva, viewing on the way several of the interesting old timbered houses characteristic of the city.

The evening meeting was held at Owens College (History Theatre) at 8 o'clock, Mr. A. Wyon, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treas.*, in the chair, when the following papers were read: "Roman Remains around Manchester", by Rev. Dr. Hooppell; "Pre-Norman Churches of Lancashire", by H. Fishwick, Esq.; and "Visitations of the Plague in Lancashire and Cheshire", by W. E. A. Axon, Esq.

WHALLEY EXCURSION.—WEDNESDAY, AUG. 1ST.

This day the members proceeded by train, at 10 A.M., to Whalley, whence the journey was continued by carriages to Little Mytton Hall and the Church, under the guidance of Rev. J. S. Doxey.

On the return to Whalley, luncheon was served at the Whalley Arms at 1 P.M. Afterwards, W. de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, communicated some "Historical Notes on Whalley Abbey."

The party then proceeded to Whalley Abbey, which was described by E. P. Loftus Brock, Esq., F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.* A carefully prepared model of the Abbey, as it appeared prior to the Dissolution, was exhibited in the Coach House.

The evening meeting was held at Owens College (History Theatre) at 8 P.M., Rev. Canon Letts in the chair, when an attractive paper was read on "The Great Seals of England", by Allan Wyon, Esq., F.S.A. Scot., with lime-light illustrations.

EXCURSION TO MACCLESFIELD AND CONGLETON. THURSDAY, AUG. 2ND.

The members to-day visited Macclesfield, under the guidance of J. P. Earwaker, Esq., F.S.A. After inspecting the Church, the Savage Chapel and monuments, the town maces, etc., the party proceeded by carriages to Gawsorth to examine the monumental effigies of the Fitton family.

A brief view was obtained, *en passant*, of Marton Chapel, a timbered structure of the fourteenth century, and of Marton Hall. Progress was then made to Congleton, where luncheon was provided at the Lion and Swan Hotel. The mace of the Commonwealth period, and other antiquities, were exhibited by the kindness of the Mayor.

A visit was then made to Astbury Church, and afterwards to Little Moreton Hall, a remarkable example of half-timbered work.

The evening meeting was held at Owens College (History Theatre) at 8 o'clock, Col. Fishwick in the chair, when the following papers were read: "Some Aspects of the Great Civil War in Lancashire", by Rev. J. H. Stanning, M.A.; "The Oldham Key", by Samuel Andrew, Esq.; "Shoe Lore", by H. S. Cuming, Esq., V.P., F.S.A.Scot.; "The Early Occupants in the Vicinity of the Mersey, Morecambe Bay, and Manchester", by Dr. J. S. Phené, F.S.A.

EXCURSION TO NANTWICH, ETC.—FRIDAY, AUG. 3RD.

Members proceeded by train to Nantwich for the inspection of the fine cruciform church and various ancient timber houses in the town.

After luncheon, visits were paid to Dorford Hall, an old Jacobean building, and to the ancient churches at Acton and Bunbury, under the guidance of Rev. T. W. Norwood, M.A., and James Hall, Esq.

In the evening the members and their friends were invited to a *conversazione* at the Peel Park Museum, at 7 P.M., by the Mayor of Salford (Sir William Bailey). In the course of the evening a paper was read by H. Colley March, Esq., M.D., F.S.A., on "The Roman Road on Blackstone Edge", and Mr. Alderman Mackinson gave an account of the Borough Reeve's Court Records from 1597-1669.

SATURDAY, AUG. 4TH.

Members this day proceeded by train, at 9.25 A.M., to Littleborough, where carriages were in readiness for visiting Blackstone Edge. Here the Roman Road, of very peculiar construction, was inspected under guidance of Dr. H. Colley March, F.S.A., who gave a short account of the history of the place.





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND JAN. 1895.

R. E. WAY, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

R. H. MACDONALD, ESQ., of Curraghmore, Portlaw, Ireland, was elected an Honorary Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society", New Series, vol. ii, Part III.

Mr. Councillor Lukey sent for exhibition a photograph of a curious little niche which had recently been discovered in demolishing the old buildings in the rear of his establishment, High Street, Canterbury, to clear the ground for a new hotel. The niche had a round-headed arch of Norman date, and the whole had been found in fairly good condition.

The following paper concerning it was then read :

THE DISCOVERY OF A NORMAN CRYPT AT CANTERBURY.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

An ancient hostelry, formerly known as the King's Head, and now belonging to Mr. Councillor Lukey, wine-merchant, is at present being added to at the back in order to adapt the whole of the premises for use as a modern hotel. The site is at the junction of Stone Street with High Street. The frontage to the latter thoroughfare is formed by a well-known timber and plaster fabric of seventeenth century date for the most prominent portions ; but a small amount of observation only is necessary to show that the framework of the structure is of a much older period ; and the angle-post at the corner of Stour Street, and much of the side, shows clearly that this portion at least dates from the fifteenth century.

In excavating for the new building a crypt built of massive rubble masonry was discovered. The thickness of the walls, and the recorded fact that in the last century some Roman tessellated pavements of much interest were found not far off from the present discovery, led to the belief, locally, that the crypt in question was also of Roman date.

I had to be at Canterbury several days after the discovery, and by Mr. Lukey's courtesy I received every assistance in making survey of what had been found. Unfortunately the arched ceiling and two of the side-walls had been demolished, but sufficient remained to show that the chamber had been 15 ft. 9 in. wide by 29 ft. 3 in. long (from north to south); the length being at right angles to High Street, from which it was 40 ft. back. This dimension, and the distance, 42 ft. 3 in. (about), from Stour Street, will enable its position to be fairly well recorded.

On the north, where it joined the existing buildings, the width was reduced by a projection 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 10 in., and there were traces of a doorway which formerly led into the High Street portion. In the eastern wall, 4 ft. from the south wall, was a niche 1 ft. 8 in. wide, which when found had a neatly executed round-headed arch with a chamfered and a rounded edge. The arched roof had been segmental in form, which gave a height to the chamber of about 9 ft. to the springing; but the original level was reduced to about 4 ft. only by filling in. I have assumed High Street to be east and west for the purposes of this description only.

During the progress of the excavations a large number of wrought stones have been found, and also pottery. The stonework consists of portions of window-tracery of fifteenth century date; a capital corbel with the head of a king, probably Edward III; a pretty thirteenth century pendent corbel; and several pieces of Norman stonework, one of which is the cap of a doorway-jamb. These all appear to be from some of the many demolished Canterbury churches, and similar to what may be found in various parts of the city.

The pottery is of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, one or two jugs being perfect. A seventeenth century token, JOSEPH SHERWOOD IN—CANTERBURY GROCER, was also found, having a sack in the centre of the obverse, and 1stA in that of the reverse.

It is satisfactory to record that Mr. Lukey proposes to have the little arched recess rebuilt in some part of the new building, and to preserve all the discovered fragments also.

With respect to the theory of the Roman date, it may be added that there is no evidence whatever to support it. The walling of flint is

similar to that of many Norman buildings in the city ; and the wrought stone, which is Caen stone, has the diagonal tool-marks, in every case, characteristic of the period assigned to them. The double edge to the stonework of the recess indicates a well advanced Norman date rather than an early one. No fragment of Roman pottery was among the mass shown to me, found on the site, which is rather remarkable when the large amount of area excavated is taken into consideration.

The position of the crypt, which I believe to have been part of some domestic building, and not an ecclesiastical one, shows some relation to the course of the High Street, and renders one more piece of evidence that the latter was in existence in Norman times. Four churches still stand on one side or other of its course, to some of which a Saxon foundation may reasonably be assigned. This evidence carries its existence to a period still farther removed, and it cannot be ignored in the inquiry as to which was the course of the main Roman road through the city. Was it the existing High Street ? or was it the now secondary road to its south, still called Watling Street ?

Mr. Brock also gave a preliminary account of a recently discovered Roman villa, of considerable extent, in the parish of Darenth, Kent, and promised a paper on a future occasion.

The Chairman exhibited an extensive collection of Roman Samian fragments, some inscribed with potters' names, as FIRMI.O, fragments of other kinds of ancient fictilia, a deeply scored Roman flue-tile, the stamped handle of a Rhodian amphora, and other miscellanea, found, with oaken piles, on the site of the hostelry known as "The Blue-Eyed Maid", Southwark, at the depth of 14 ft. below the modern surface of the ground.

He also exhibited a silver medal of Charles I, bearing on the obverse the King riding ; on the reverse an interesting and detailed view of London, with legend, "*Sol orbem rediens . sic rex illuminat urbem.*" Over the sun, which is furnished with rays, and shines in the north, looking over the water, is the mint-mark, or engraver's initial letter, **E**. It bears date 1633.

The paper which was arranged to have been read by Mr. Birch was postponed to the next meeting, on account of the small attendance of members owing to the inclemency of the weather.

WEDNESDAY 16 JANUARY 1895.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Boston Public Library, Massachusetts, was elected to be a Member of the Association.

J. H. Nicholson, Esq., Wilmslow, Cheshire

G. C. Yates, Esq., F.S.A., Swinton, near Manchester

Dr. Colley Marsh, F.S.A., Rochdale

were elected Honorary Correspondents.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Society, for "Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society" Proceedings during the year 1894.

" " for "The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland", Part 4, vol. iv.

" " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 5th Series, No. 45.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited a nicely carved bench-end from the old fittings of Manchester Cathedral. It represents on the one side a fox, in the guise of an ecclesiastic, preaching to two geese, while a companion fox runs off with a third goose in its mouth. On the other side the geese are hanging the delinquent to a cross beam.



Norman Font Bowl at Waddon, Wilts.

Rev. G. B. Lewis, M.A., exhibited large photographs of the font at Toller, of which some notice has already been given in vol. L, pp.

329-331. He also exhibited the photograph of a Norman font which he found set up as a flower-pot in a farm-garden at Waddon, near Hilperston, Wiltshire, in August 1893. It had then been recently found embedded in the ground. There is little doubt that it belonged to the adjacent church.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on "The Importance of Preserving the Records and Literary Antiquities of Wales, as illustrated by some recent Publications." The paper was illustrated with some fac-similes of ancient Welsh MSS.

In the discussion which ensued some of those present took part at some length, and pointed out what was now going on in Wales in this behalf.

The following communication was then read :

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN BRISTOL.

BY DR. A. C. FRYER.

Some interesting discoveries have been made in the course of the demolition of the White Lion hostelry at the junction of St. James' back and Bridewell Street. A tiled floor was discovered, and some seventy-five of the tiles are believed to be intact. One of the tiles had the monogram I.H.S. upon it; the others were embellished with coats of arms. A chapel in the burial-ground of St. James' Priory¹ is mentioned by William of Worcester. Did the pavement which has now been found belong to this chapel?

The Western Daily Press comments on the fact that "a local archæologist says there is no certainty that there ever was a building on the site dedicated to religious purposes, and it will be necessary to find out, if possible, whether there was a large house in which there might have been a private chapel. In connection with the house of Grey Friars in Lewin's Mead, remains of oak coffins, portions of skulls, etc., have been discovered. The coffins could not have been buried less than three and a half centuries ago for certain, and the interments might have taken place five or six hundred years ago. A leaden pipe has been found some little distance below the present gas and water-mains. Probably the Friars allowed the dwellers in the house of the Bartholomews, in Narrow Lewin's Mead, to participate in the grand supply of water which they derived from lands to the north, but also from an unlimited source of supply within the precincts of their house."

These discoveries are interesting as this locality formerly abounded with religious houses. The parish church of St. James, with its fine Norman nave, is only a fragment of a former great priory church.

Some interesting discoveries have been made in the choir of the

¹ A house of the Franciscans or Friars Minors.

Cathedral Church of Bristol, which is now undergoing restoration. At the suggestion of some local antiquaries a trench has been dug in the centre of the choir, east and west, from the second to the fourth bay from the screen, with the object of unearthing portions of the Norman church. A foundation was discovered, which may have carried the east wall of the earlier building. It is thought that this is a part of the Norman church; but opinions seem to be divided as to the date and object of the foundation some twelve paces further east. Some think this supported a screen which divided the Lady Chapel from the choir.

WEDNESDAY, 6 FEBRUARY 1895.

E. P. L. BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER,
IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Proprietors, for "Reliquary", New Series, vol. i, Part 1.

To the Author, for "Descriptive Zoopraxography, or the Science of Animal Locomotion." By Edwd. Maybridge. Pennsylvania, 1893. 8vo.

To the Society, for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1892-3", vol. xvi, Part 2.

Mr. Barrett described a series of fragments of zigzag Norman worked stones in Croydon Palace, built up as old material, probably part of a demolished doorway.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled "The Igel Monument in Germany", by Dr. A. C. Fryer. Two photographs of this remarkable Roman erection were exhibited, and it is hoped that the paper will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

Rev. Dr. W. Sparrow-Simpson, F.S.A., read a paper entitled "On the Head of Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, a Relic preserved in the Church of St. Gregory, Sudbury, Suffolk", and exhibited some drawings in illustration of the paper, which we hope will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 20 FEBRUARY 1895.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

J. E. Thornley, Esq., Nether Whitacre, near Birmingham, was duly elected a Member.

Miss Edith Bradley, 4 Caroline Place, Mecklenburgh Square, was duly elected an Honorary Corresponding Member.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

To the Author, for "A System of Measures." By Wordsworth Donisthorpe, Esq. Spottiswoode and Co., 1895.

To the Society, for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles", tome ixème, Pt. I, 1893.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, exhibited a drawing of a steelyard-weight, and read the following :—

"Mrs. Dent, of Sudeley Castle, exhibited drawings of a steelyard-weight which was found some time since at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire. It is globular in form, of bronze, and, judging by its weight, filled with lead. On the neck is a band formed of zigzags in sunk lines, and on the face are four elongated shields charged thus :—(1), three lions passant guardant in pale, England ; (2), lion rampant ; (3), a double-headed eagle displayed ; (4), a lion rampant within a bordure compoyné. These arms are similar in style, and with certain correspondence, to those which have been observed on certain other steelyard-weights found in various localities in England from time to time. Two from Norwich¹ are all but identical in form to this example, and the ornamental bands in each example, below the loop for suspension, are all but exactly similar. Other specimens have been found at Fulbroke,² Warwickshire, in Oxfordshire,³ and at Blewbury,⁴ Berks. These all vary in size while they agree in style ; and although there is the diversity of arms referred to, these objects have very generally been ascribed to Richard, King of the Romans, Earl of Cornwall and of Poictou. The arms on the object exhibited may be taken as those, 1st, of England ; 2nd, of Poictou ; 3rd, of the Holy Roman Empire ; and 4th, of Cornwall, although the roundels, as borne on the bordure by Earl Richard's son, appear here of different form.

"The occurrence of Earl Richard's devices on these curious articles, found at distances so far apart, appears to indicate some sort of authoritative oversight over their production ; but it may be open for consideration if the object described did not owe its existence to some still more intimate connection with Earl Richard. He founded Hayles Abbey, where he was buried, and this site is but a short two miles from Winchcombe, where it was found.

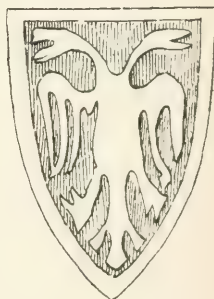
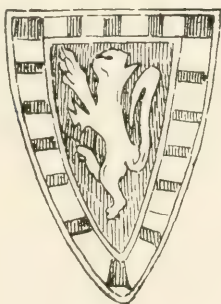
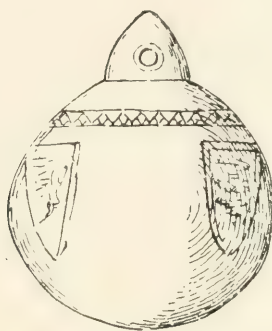
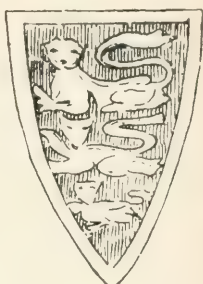
"The weight of the object is 6 lbs. ; and it will be noted, by comparison with the others met with elsewhere, that this is different from that of any of them. The height is 5½ in., and the circumference 10 in.

¹ Illustrated in *Archæologia*, xxv, p. 589.

² See *Archæological Journal*, ii, p. 203.

³ *Ibid.*, viii, p. 426.

⁴ See *Society of Antiquaries, Proceedings*, 2nd Series, vii, p. 394.



BRONZE STEEL-YARD WEIGHT FOUND AT WINCHCOMBE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

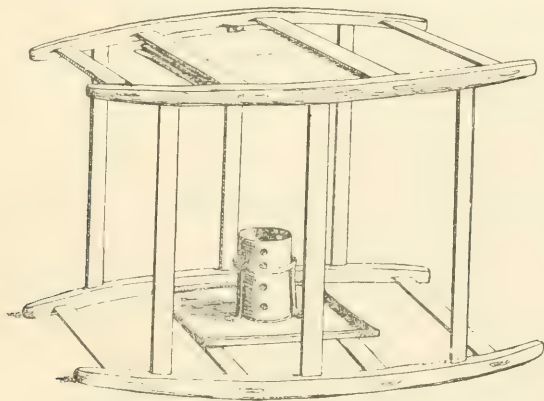
"While no examples of thirteenth century date appear yet to have been found without devices that may reasonably be attributed to Earl Richard, yet there have not unfrequently been found either whole steelyards, or their weights, of Roman date. The *Journal* of the Association (vol. i, p. 147) contains an illustration of one of the latter objects in the form of a human head; and in the British Museum are three admirable examples, one from the Roach Smith Collection."

The following communication was then read:

NOTES ON A BED-WARMER.

BY RICHARD QUICK, ESQ., CURATOR OF THE HORNIMAN MUSEUM.

The object shown in the accompanying drawing belongs to a class of domestic utensils which were in use anterior to the employment of copper and brass warming-pans, and was once a familiar article (though not very ornamental) in English households; but since the invention or introduction of improved means of heating rooms by oil and gas-stoves, it has completely disappeared, and I believe has not yet received notice in the Proceedings of any Society. The specimen before you came from an old farmhouse near Bramley in Surrey.



Mediæval Bed-Warmer.

It is formed by a framework of wood slightly curved. The curved pieces are $32\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length, 1 in. wide, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, and are held together by four strips, the centre ones 21 in. long, and the outside two 17 in. long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick. This forms the base, to which are attached six upright, flattish pieces of wood (three on each side), 21 in. in length, $1\frac{5}{8}$ wide, by $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. The upper part of the framework corresponds to the lower in size and measurement. In

the centre of the base is a tray of sheet iron, $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. square, with a $\frac{3}{4}$ in. rim turned up all round; and on it is riveted an iron tripod, very rude in construction, and in this is placed an iron cylindrical-shaped burner or brazier, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. high by 4 in. in diameter, perforated with five vertical rows of four holes, each hole being about the size of a threepenny-piece.

This was for burning the charcoal in, and above it, on the framework, is riveted a plate of iron, 14 in. by $12\frac{1}{2}$ in., to reflect the ascending heat. The whole was placed inside the bed, and the bed-clothes drawn over, so the heat was dispersed, the clothes being prevented by the wooden cage-like framework from being burned or scorched.

It is difficult to assign a date to this interesting specimen, as it is the only one that has come under my notice, and I am not aware of the existence of a similar object in any other Museum.

These warmers being mostly of wood, and taking up a fair amount of space, were, as they became obsolete or disused, no doubt generally broken up for firewood, or economised for making other things more required, and so it happens that very few of these curious articles have been preserved and handed down to us.

It is also probable that the apparatus was a very dangerous one, unless the bed-clothes were drawn, or rather lifted, over it most carefully, and therefore the article never even got into general use, as with its Italian cousin, the *scaldino*, which is a somewhat similar contrivance for warming beds. It is used at the present day in some parts of Italy, although it is an old method, and consists of a simple, round wooden cage, open at the bottom, inside of which is suspended, by a strong wire or hook, the earthenware *scaldino*, a kind of terracotta pot of graceful shape, with a circular handle by which it is attached to the hook of the cage. This is to hold the burning charcoal. The whole apparatus, like the old English one described, is introduced under the bed-clothes, and so produces the same effect.

To return to the one under consideration. The wood throughout is mahogany, with one or two exceptions; and the bars are let in, and fastened with wooden pegs, in the same manner as Elizabethan furniture. This unique specimen has recently been acquired by Mr. F. J. Horniman for his Museum at Forest Hill, and has been placed in the Elizabethan Bedroom in company with other mediæval household objects.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited a Bellarmine of small dimensions, with a shield of arms on the front of the body,—two chevrons compony between three estoiles of six points.

Mr. Brock exhibited a collection of casts and sealing-wax impressions of early and late mediæval seals, including several of the oldest type of heraldic seals.

Mr. R. B. Barrett exhibited a rubbing of, and read notes on, a sepulchral brass of Nicholas Gaynesford and his wife, in All Saints' Church, Carshalton, Surrey, within the South Chapel, formerly the sanctuary of the old Chapel.

Mr. T. Blashill, V.P., exhibited five documents of the fourteenth century, relating to Sutton in Holderness, near Hull, and described them, giving an account of the descent of this manor, which formerly belonged to Saher de Sutton. Mr. Blashill's forthcoming work on this parish, in which these deeds are printed and translated, will be looked forward to with interest.

Mr. Brock read a paper on "The Hill of Tara", co. Tipperary, by Mr. R. H. McDonald, which will be printed, it is hoped, in a future number of the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 6 MARCH 1895.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREAS., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were duly elected members:—

Hull Public Library

Mrs. Chas. Lambert, Coventry Street, W.

W. Salt Bassington, F.S.A., Moseley, Birmingham, was elected an Honorary Corresponding Member.

Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., read a paper on "Otham Church, Parish, and Manor-House, Kent." This was illustrated with a rubbing from a brass and a collection of photographs. It will be printed, it is hoped, in a future part of the *Journal*.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper entitled "The Doors of the Church of Sta. Sabina in Rome", by S. Russell-Forbes, Ph.D. This interesting communication was accompanied by a photograph of the doors, showing a very elaborate series of ancient *bassi-relievi* of an archaic Christian period. It is hoped that it may be printed hereafter.





Antiquarian Intelligence.

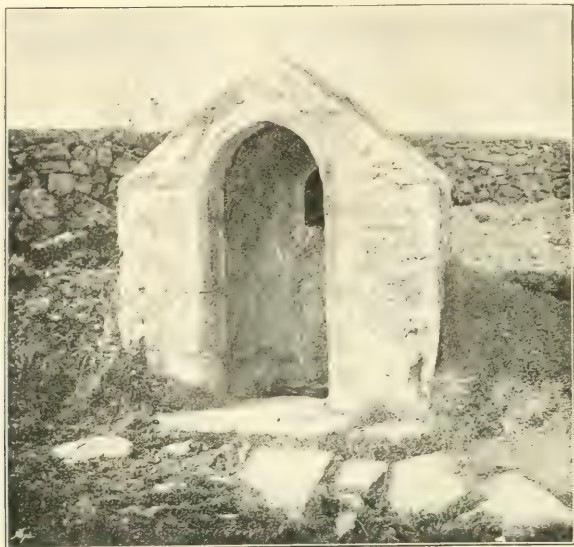
Wenhaston, Suffolk, curious Parish Records. By Rev. J. B. CLARE, Vicar of Wenhaston.—Mr. Clare has prepared this little *brochure*, which contains many notices of the antiquities of his parish, with the desire of arousing interest in efforts to carry on the necessary reparation of his church. There appear to have been three churches in ancient times here, if we reckon with St. Peter's and St. Margaret's the Chapel of St. Bartholomew, of which there is some evidence.

One of the most remarkable antiquities is the painting, on oak, of the Last Judgment, at the east end of the nave; supposed, on good authority, to have been painted about A.D. 1480, and covered up since 1549, in obedience to an Act of Parliament of that date. It was accidentally discovered by having been taken down, and placed where heavy rain washed off the whitewash, and disclosed the various colours, which attracted attention. A photograph of this relic may be had from the Vicar.

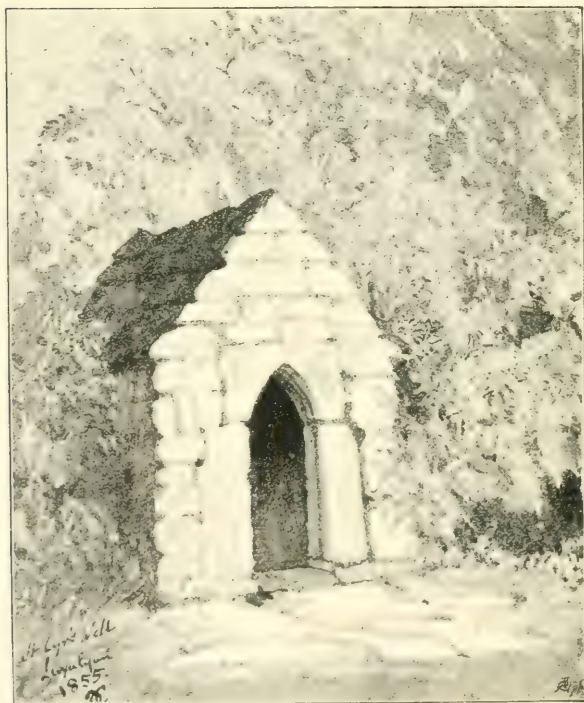
The churchwardens' accounts commence in 1645, and contain many remarkable items; and there is an inventory of the goods, ornaments, and other things appertaining to the parish church in 1686. Perhaps the most interesting object connected with Wenhaston is the fine antique bronze Venus holding a dove, found many years ago, and now in possession of Rev. S. H. Turner, M.A. The list of Vicars begins in 1217, and is pretty complete.

Mr. Clare may be congratulated on his success in gathering together, in such modest dimensions, so many notices of parochial antiquities relating to his district, and we hope his object in obtaining funds for necessary repairs may soon be accomplished.

Early London Theatres: in the Fields. By T. F. ORDISH, F.S.A. (The Camden Library: E. Stock, 62 Paternoster Row.)—This is an excellent and prettily got up little volume, summing up, in not too long or prosaic a way, all we know of the London theatres before the Restoration. It deals with the invention and construction and the working economy of the playhouses, their localities, rise and fall, and the actors who took part therein, and may be looked on as a text-book on the popular subject of which it treats.



ST. RUÁN'S WELL.



ST. CYR'S WELL, LUXULYAN.

Segontium.—Since the reminiscences, printed above at pp. 21-24, were recorded, an examination of the recessed tomb in the south transept was made, when it was discovered that it had been appropriated by a local family about one hundred and eighty years ago, and very probably St. Beblig's remains were then placed elsewhere, without record; and at the same time the effigy, no doubt, was removed and built into the wall of the nave, where recently found.

In pulling down the south wall of the nave a fine Roman altar was found built into it. One side is mutilated; the other three sides bear respectively a jug, a patera, and a ring carved in good form. This, when I saw it, was in the south transept, but in a bad light for examination.

In the north end of "Caer Seiont", just within the camp-wall, was discovered, about thirty-five years ago, what appeared to have been an ancient smithy or smelting-place; and near it a shaft which, after being opened and cleared out to a great depth, until a strong wooden platform was reached, was rashly filled up without a proper exploration. As there was a similar shaft discovered, about 1845, in the military or upper camp, when the excavations were made for the foundations of Llanbeblig Vicarage, and many Roman remains discovered, I am strongly of opinion that there was an underground communication between the two camps. At a considerable depth in each shaft there was a massive oak-staging which it is to be regretted was not thoroughly examined, especially that at "Caer Seiont", when it was opened as deep as the wooden platform.—H. S.

Recent Discovery of Roman Antiquities at Bath.—An interesting report has recently been submitted by Major C. E. Davis, F.S.A., Surveyor of Works, to the Baths' Committee. He stated that in following up the Roman duct which was being excavated, the workmen had come across another Roman drain built of colossal stones. In removing the soil several antiquities had been discovered, including a bronze, barbed fish-hook about an inch long, and a number of stones for finger-rings, in chalcedony, sardonyx, amethyst, and bloodstone, all engraved or partly engraved with figures. Major Davis considered their presence might indicate that the smaller rooms of the Baths were used as shops, and that a lapidary's was one of the trades patronised by the bathers. The Committee have decided that Major Davis should continue the excavation of the duct for another three weeks.

Ancient and Holy Wells in Cornwall. By M. and L. QUILLER-COUCH. (London: C. J. Clark.)—This is a dainty little volume devoted to one of the most attractive subdivisions of archaeology. The contemplation

of holy wells leads us at once not only into considerations of the primitive architecture which generally covers them, but into the illimitable realm of spirit-land, where the benign *genius loci* ever rests ready to assist troubled and impotent folk with the medicine of faith and



Holy Well, Chapel Farm, St. Breward.

inspiration. Although written in a simple manner, and not claiming to be exhaustive, notices have been gathered up by the writers to shed light on close upon a hundred ancient wells, and this of one county alone. Their appearance and present condition vary. From nothing at all to



DUPATH WELL, ST. DOMINICK.



HOLY WELL, ROCHE.

indicate position, or from a few loose stones, the edifice raised by pious hands passes upwards, in grade, to the rude square or parallelogram with pent roof, as at St. Cyr's Well, Luxulyan, and St. Ruan's ; in the former of which it will be noticed the rough ashlar, with irregular width of course and wide joint, points out unmistakably a very remote origin. The arch-head cut from a single block (a method which, as will be noticed in these illustrations, is not infrequent in these Cornish wells) may be traced back to Saxon times at least (as at Deerhurst), and probably belongs to an older period still.

Ascending in order of development, we come to a class where the arch is more regularly formed, mouldings used with effect, and an attractive *ensemble* produced, as will be seen on examining the illustration of the holy well at Roche. Last of all, and most elaborate, is the little church-like pile of Dupath Well, St. Dominick, the details of which speak for themselves. There are, of course, many intermediary forms ; but these views have been selected as forming typical examples of class-arrangement.

In the literary history and folk-lore of wells the authors are thoroughly versed. Not only have they consulted the county histories and local press, but by personal inspection of these vestiges of antiquity, and pains cheerfully undertaken when repairs were necessary, they have been enabled to add new historic facts to the meagre notices so usually existing, and they have thereby earned for their book a place among works of genuine research.

The glamour which in all countries and at all times, except the present, has gathered around wells, is not wanting to those of Cornwall, although, perhaps, it is lingering slowly before passing away for ever. The presiding spirit, be he saint or fairy, god or demon, is ever ready with never-ending store of tutelary patronage to be shed benevolently around the humblest votary who may be in search of a simple answer to an inquiry not hard to solve, or a natural remedy for a trivial complaint. The power of faith has never yet been confined within limits ; and if the virtue of these ancient wells brought salutary results to faithful pilgrimages, as they undoubtedly did, their value must never be depreciated. Even now their waters possess therapeutic properties which cannot always be accounted for by chemical analysis. We have, for example, before us at this moment an account of a newly found spring in the island of Teneriffe, the water of which is found by medical use to be fraught with power of producing certain well-marked effects which would not be at all indicated by its composition. For such a charming volume on all these matters the authors may indeed be thanked.

We have just received from Mr. Stock, of 62 Paternoster Row, the fifth volume of *English Topography*, collected from the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This comprises the chief articles which come under this head, relating to Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, and Huntingdonshire. Although in some cases the information supplied is, perhaps, a little antiquated, there is much sound knowledge displayed in the treatment of antiquarian topography by the old writers, and it is interesting to find notices of many relics which are now dispersed or lost. Winchester and Hereford Cathedrals, St. Alban's Abbey, Dore, Romsey, Christchurch, and other prominent places, have been fruitful subjects for the pens of learned antiquaries in the columns of the *Magazine*, and Mr. G. L. Gomme has put the essays before us in an attractive way.

Mr. Stock also sends us *The Friend of Sir Philip Sidney, being Selections from the Works of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, by ALEXANDER B. GROSART.—A pretty little addition to *The Elizabethan Library*, of which we have noticed other numbers. Those of our readers who love the sprightly wit and aphorisms of this age will find a great pleasure in perusing this little volume.

Correction (vide Journal, vol. xlix, p. 298, "Discovery of a Roman Hypocaust at Chester").—In preparing the illustrative plate I inadvertently tinted it, and so it had to be redrawn. In doing so the letters of reference were wrongly placed, for A refers to the uppermost (dotted) squares; and so the rest should be B, C, D, and E. This, which is necessary for the understanding of the text, has, by a second oversight, remained uncorrected.—F. H. WILLIAMS.





1



7



2



6



4



3



5



THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1895.

SEALS OF THE BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER.

BY ALLAN WYON, ESQ., V.P. AND HON. TREASURER,
F.S.A., F.R.G.S.,
CHIEF ENGRAVER OF HER MAJESTY'S SEALS.

(Read at Winchester, 2nd August 1893.)



THE devices upon the seals used by the Bishops of Winchester during the last seven hundred and fifty years may roughly be divided into three types or styles,—the simple, the elaborate, and the heraldic; or, the early, the mediæval, and the modern. Examples of each of these styles are before us this evening. These casts I have obtained from a variety of sources. Some have been presented to me by my friend Mr. Henry A. Rye (to whom I am also indebted for much valuable assistance in deciphering the same), some I have obtained from the British Museum, others have come to me through various other channels. In all, I lay before you casts of thirty-seven episcopal seals which have been used by twenty-five Bishops of Winchester. I do not know of impressions of any further seals of this series as now surviving, but probably some more may from time to time be met with. There is, however, ample material before us to enable us

to see the varied styles of all the episcopal seals of Winchester, and from them really to trace, in broad outline, the types of all the Anglican Bishops' seals which have been in use during the last eight centuries.

Of some of the seals to which attention is now directed, a description will be found in the *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, drawn up with laborious care by our Honorary Secretary, Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A. I propose, however, to give rather a fuller account of some of these, such as necessarily could not be introduced into what purports only to be a catalogue of seals.

The first group of seals is composed of the *early* or *simple* designs.

HENRY OF BLOIS, A.D. 1129-1171.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (Plate I, fig. 1.)

At the British Museum.

The Bishop standing on a small platform, vested in albe, dalmatic with apparel, chasuble with pillar orphrey, and amice; the ends of a stole issue from under the dalmatic, and appear over the albe. The right hand of the Bishop is raised in benediction, his left hand holds a crozier; from his left wrist hangs a maniple; on his head is an extremely low mitre or cap.

Legend, in which the S's are reversed,—

HENRICVS DEI GR̄A WIN | TONIENSIS EPISCOPVS

Counterseal.

Oval. $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{5}{8}$ in. (Plate I, fig. 2.)

Two heads facing one another, each wearing the *modius*. Mr. Birch sees in the field faint traces of an inscription. The seal most probably was an antique gem, and was most likely worn by the Bishop as a ring.

The practice of such gems being so worn and used by

Bishops prevailed for a considerable time; but about a quarter of a century after the decease of this Bishop the practice was discontinued, as in 1194 Pope Innocent III issued an ordinance that henceforth episcopal rings should be of solid gold, or set only with a precious stone, which was to be plain, without any device upon it.

RICHARD TOCLIVE, A.D. 1174-1188.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ in. (Plate I, fig. 3.)

At the British Museum.

The Bishop standing on a square corbel, vested in albe, dalmatic with wide apparel, chasuble, and amice, wearing a low mitre, with his right hand raised in benediction, and with his left hand raised, grasping a crozier. In the field, to the right side of the Bishop, is a *sinister* hand holding a long, thin wand terminating in a cross *patée* (probably meant for a processional cross); to the left of the Bishop is a *pentacle*.

Legend, within beaded lines,—

✠ : RICARDVS : D[EI] : GRATIA : W[IT] | N[T]ONIENS[IS] :
EPISCOPVS :

Counterseal.

Vesica. $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (Plate I, fig. 4.)

Full length figures of St. Peter, with keys, on the left of seal, and St. Paul, with book, on the right. Each Saint places one foot upon an orb filling up the base of the design.

Legend, within beaded lines,—

✠ SVNT. MICHI. SINT. Q'. BONI. | PETRVS. PAVL'. Q'. PATRONI

Assembled as we are at Winchester, and having on Monday last visited the Hospital of St. Cross, it may interest the members of the Congress to know that an impression of this seal is attached to a parchment document still preserved in the British Museum, dated Dover, 10th April 1185, stating that it was sealed in the pre-

sence of King Henry II, Eraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and others. The document itself is an agreement whereby the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem surrendered to Richard, Bishop of Winchester, the charge and administration of the Hospital of St. Cross, without the walls of Winchester. The Bishop raised the number of poor entertained therein from one hundred and thirteen to two hundred and thirteen, of whom two hundred were to be fed, and thirteen fed and clothed.

GODFREY DE LUCY, A.D. 1189-1204.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica, about $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (Plate I, fig. 5.)

At the British Museum.

The Bishop standing on a square corbel, vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble, narrow amice, and manipule hanging from left wrist, wearing a low mitre; with right hand raised in benediction, and with left hand raised, holding a crozier. In the field, to the right side of the Bishop, is the west end of a cathedral; to the left of the Bishop is a part of an arm, draped, and a dexter hand holding erect two keys endorsed, wards upwards, and conjoined at the bows.

Legend,—

✠. SIGILLVM |IA.WI.....SIS:EPI

Counterseal.

Vesica. $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ in. (Plate I, fig. 6.)

The base of this counterseal represents water, out of which, and at right angles to its surface, issues the head of a luce, or pike-fish, holding in its mouth some small creature, probably meant for a bird. Between the lower part of the jaws is a pastoral staff, fesse-ways; and on each side of the head, an estoile of eight points. The legend shows that the introduction of the fish was meant as a play upon the Bishop's name, Lucy,—

PRESVLIS 7 GENERIS. SIGNO CONSIGNOR VTROQ'

(*I am marked with the double sign of headship and of race*), and shows that even in such a serious matter as a seal the Bishop was not above indulging his jocular humour.

PETER DES ROCHES, A.D. 1205-1238.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{1}{8} \times 2$ in. (Plate I, fig. 7.)

At the Society of Antiquaries.

The Bishop standing upon a small platform, with right hand raised in benediction, and left hand raised, holding a crozier with large crook. The Bishop wears mitre, chasuble with pillar-orphrey, dalmatic, albe, and stole, the two ends of the last running from under the dalmatic over the albe; and on his left wrist a fringed maniple.

Legend,—

[✠ PET]RVS : DEI : GRATIA : WIN | TONIENSIS : EPISCOP[VS]

AYMER DE LESIGNAN OR VALENCE,

A.D. 1250-1260.

Seal of Dignity as Bishop-Elect.

Vesica. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. (Plate II, fig. 8.)

At the Society of Antiquaries.

The Bishop-Elect in albe, amice, and dalmatic; his arms folded across the body, with apparels on sleeves; holding in his hands a book erect; from his left wrist hangs a maniple; on each side of the Bishop-Elect are columns supporting a trefoil canopy, the top of which is finished with pinnacles and tracery; between the Bishop-Elect and the columns on each side is a six-pointed estoile.

Legend, within beaded borders,—

SIGILLU ADEMARI DEI [GRA | EPI] ELECTI
WĪTHONIEN̄

Counterseal.

Vesica. $1\frac{3}{8} \times 1$ in. (Plate II, fig. 9.)

The Bishop-Elect, in albe and amice, with hands folded on breast, in prayer, standing on a corbel.

Legend,—

✠ C T R A . S . A . E L E C T I | W I N T O N I E N S I S *

This Bishop, brother to King Henry III, was elected by the Chapter to the See of Winchester on the 4th Nov. 1250. His election was confirmed by the Pope on the 14th Jan. 1251; but he was not consecrated until the year 1260. In the same year he died, and was buried in the Cathedral at Winchester, near the high altar. During the ten years between his election and consecration he administered the affairs of the See, of which fact this seal is an indirect witness.

JOHN OF EXETER, A.D. 1262-1265.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3 \times 1\frac{7}{8}$ in. (Plate II, fig. 10.)

At the Society of Antiquaries.

The Bishop standing on small platform, vested in albe, dalmatic, chasuble, and amice; on the breast is the *rationale*, a curious brooch often worn from about the close of the twelfth century until nearly the end of the thirteenth century; the Bishop's right hand is raised in benediction; his left is raised, holding a crozier; in the field, on the right side of the Bishop, under a small trefoil canopy, is a half-length figure of St. Paul with a sword in his right hand; to the Bishop's left, under a similar canopy, is a half-length figure of St. Peter with the keys; between the canopy, on the right side of the Bishop, and under his hand, is a crescent; in a corresponding position on the left of the Bishop is an eight-pointed star; the ground displays a diamond-shaped diaper.

Legend,—

I O H [A N N I S . D E I] . G R A C I A | W I N T O N I E N . E P I S C O P U [S]

Counterseal.

Vesica. $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (Plate II, fig. 11.)

A sword erect, hilt upwards, and two keys erect, wards upwards, between the heads of St. Paul and St. Peter;

over the head of St. Paul is an eight-pointed star; beneath a trefoil arch is the half-figure of the Bishop in profile, praying, face to right; under the raised arm are the letters IOH.

Legend,—

✠ SUM VESTER NATUS PR | OVECTUS PONTIFICAT'

It is noteworthy that on this seal and counterseal St. Paul has the precedence over St. Peter.

NICHOLAS OF ELY, A.D. 1268-1280.

Seal of Dignity (fragment only).

Vesica. Probably 3×2 in. (Plate II, fig. 12.)

At the British Museum.

The Bishop standing with his right hand raised in benediction, and grasping a crozier with his left hand. The Bishop is vested in chasuble, amice, dalmatic with sleeves, albe with tight sleeves, gloves, maniple, and mitre; upon his breast he wears a *rationale*. In the field of the seal, upon each side of the Bishop, is a trefoil opening.

Legend,—

.....NTONIENSI.....

Secretum or Counterseal (fragment only).

Vesica. Probably $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{6}$ in.

(Plate II, fig. 13.)

At the Public Record Office.

The Bishop vested in albe, amice, and cope, wearing a mitre, stands upon a carved corbel under an arched and cusped canopy, holding in his two hands a book. The cope is fastened with a *morse*. Under side-canopies are panels; the one on the Bishop's right has a circular opening, through which is shown the head of St. Peter; above the opening are two keys erect, endorsed, with wards upwards, and bows conjoined; on the Bishop's left, through a similar opening, is seen the head of St. Paul;

above the opening is a sword erect, point upwards; beneath the opening are three small arches, and lower still is a trefoil.

The only remaining portion of the legend shows the letters CLI or ELI.

It will be noticed that in this seal the order of precedence of the two Saints is that which has been subsequently most usually followed: St. Peter takes the place of honour before St. Paul.

JOHN OF PONTOISE, A.D. 1282-1304.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. 3 × 2 in. (Plate II, fig. 14.)

At the British Museum.

The Bishop standing upon a carved corbel, with his right hand raised in benediction, and holding a crozier with his left hand; wearing mitre, broad amice fastened with small *rationale* or brooch, chasuble, dalmatic with wide sleeves, ornamented cuffs, and apparel, albe, and fringed maniple. The opening of the dalmatic is high, and richly fringed. In the field of the seal, on the right hand side of the Bishop, is a fleur-de-lis; and on his left are two flowers growing on one stalk, slipped.

Legend,—

✠ S : IOHANNIS : DEI : GRA | WINTONIEŃ : EPISCOPI

The seals, so far, have mostly been of a type marked by simplicity of design and directness of meaning. During the fourteenth century, however, the *mediæval* or *elaborate* type of seal was developed. In the seals of this type architectural embellishments were greatly increased. Before this, as we have seen, some Bishops had placed canopies over their heads. The canopies had been followed by shaftings or columns supporting these overhead decorations until the Bishop stood in a niche, and then the idea of the rich tabernacle-work of the fourteenth century was fully suggested. This led to the

seals of the type which now follows, in which "religious" ideas were quickly developed. Representations of the Deity were attempted, figures of the Holy Mother and Child and of patron Saints were introduced, and became the order of the day.

In these seals the Bishop himself was squeezed into a small space in the lower part of the design, where he was generally represented kneeling. In such a position, and in so confined a space, the appearance of the Bishop was not always pleasing. On many of such seals the Bishop appears as if deposed from his lawful position, and relegated to a place of torture below, from which he is looking up to see if there is any prospect of release. Notwithstanding, however, the position and attitude of the Bishops in these designs, many of the seals at this time were of a most beautiful, artistic character.

Another interesting feature of these seals is the introduction of shields bearing the arms of the diocese over which the Bishop presided, and the Bishop's own personal arms. Here, again, the seals reflect another advance in the arts made during that period. A wider use of, and a greater exactness in, heraldry had set in, and these facts find illustration in the seals.

HENRY WOODLOCK, A.D. 1306-1316.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. 3 x 2 in. (Plate II, fig. 15.)

At the College, Winchester.

The Bishop standing upon a carved corbel with his right hand raised in benediction, and with his left hand raised, holding a crozier. The Bishop is vested in mitre, chasuble, amice, maniple, dalmatic, albe, and stole, both ends of which fall from under the dalmatic over the albe. The dalmatic is ornamented with an apparel. On each side of the Bishop is a six-foil opening, through which are seen two heads, presumably those of Saints Peter and Paul, one in each opening. Under the opening to the Bishop's right is the letter **h**; under that to his left, the figure **ff**. Over the Bishop's head is a trefoil Gothic

canopy with pinnacles and crockets, the canopy springing from carved corbels.

Legend,—

FRAT: HENRICVS : DĪ : GR̄A | WINTONIEN[SIS] : EPV[S]

Counterseal.

Vesica. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. (Plate II, fig. 16.)

A finely carved niche of three storeys. In the top, under a trefoil and crocketed arch with large finials, is a half-length figure of the Virgin Mary, crowned, holding the Holy Child. On one side of the figures there is foliage, and on the other side there are some lilies. In the second storey, which is divided into two compartments by a slender column supporting two trefoiled canopies, are the half-length figures of St. Peter to the left, and St. Paul to the right, with their usual emblems. In the lowest storey, which is again divided as the second, are the half-length figures of two Bishops, both with their right hands raised in benediction, and with their left hands holding croziers; each Bishop is vested in mitre, chasuble, and amice. In the base of the seal, under a trefoil arch, is a half-length figure of the Bishop in prayer turned to the right, vested in mitre and chasuble, with a crozier resting on his left arm.

Legend,—

SIT : XPO : GRATUS : HEN | RICI : PONTIFICATUS :

The significance of **h. ff.** upon the Seal of Dignity is that the Bishop was the second Bishop of Winchester of the name of Henry, the first of that name having been Henry of Blois (1129-1171).

JOHN DE SANDALE, A.D. 1316-1319.

Counterseal.

Vesica. $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. (Plate III, fig. 17.)

At Magdalen College, Oxford.

This seal is much broken. In the upper part are the Holy Virgin and Child seated, most probably under a



8



9



15



11



10



16



12



13



14

canopy. In the centre of the seal, under canopies, are full-length figures of St. Peter to the left, and St. Paul to the right, with their usual emblems; in the base of the seal, under an arch, is the Bishop kneeling in prayer, turned to the left; in the field, on each side of the columns supporting the canopies, there is a shield bearing a cross charged with a mitre, and in the first quarter is a fleur-de-lis.

Legend,— XPRISTO :

JOHN STRATFORD, ? A.D. 1323-1333.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. Probably 3×2 in. (Plate III, fig. 18.)

At the British Museum.

The impression of this seal is very defective. The Bishop is standing, no doubt in benediction, vested in mitre, chasuble, dalmatic with wide sleeves, and maniple, the ends of which are very broad; he is holding a crozier with an extremely simple head.

Legend,—

SIGILLVM : IOH

This impression is from a sulphur-cast in the British Museum, and is assigned as above; but from the whole design of the seal, the form of the vestments, the simplicity of the crozier, and the style of the lettering, I am led to believe that the seal must have been of a date considerably earlier than 1323. Of course it may not have been the seal of any Bishop of Winchester, as no John appears in the succession of that See before John of Exeter in 1262, when the seals had already begun to depart from that extreme simplicity of design which is the characteristic of this seal.

WILLIAM OF EDINGTON, A.D. 1346-1366.

Secretum.

Circular. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. diam. (Plate III, fig. 19.)

At the Society of Antiquaries.

Under a richly carved double canopy, the figure of

St. Catherine standing, holding in her left hand the wheel; this figure is to the left. To the right is the figure of the Bishop kneeling, holding in his hands a crozier. In base is a shield bearing a cross engrailed, charged with five cinquefoils.

Legend,—

SECRETUM : WILLELMI : WYNTONIENSIS : EPI :

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, A.D. 1367-1404.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ in. (Plate III, fig. 20.)

At the College, Winchester.

In a niche within delicate Perpendicular tabernacle-work, the Bishop, in pontifical vestments, holding crozier with left hand, his right hand raised in benediction. Surmounting the architecture, to the Bishop's right hand, there is a shield charged with the royal arms, namely, 1st and 4th, semée de lis, for *France* (ancient); 2nd and 3rd, three lions passant guardant, in pale, for *England*; to the Bishop's left hand is another shield charged with two chevrons between three cinquefoils, for *Wykeham*.

Legend,—

SI : WILLELMI : DE : WIKEHAM : DE | GRACIA : WYNTTON :
EPI

Counterseal.

Vesica. $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. (Plate III, fig. 21.)

Gothic tabernacle-work divided into various niches. In the upper niche a representation of the Holy Trinity, the Father seated, supporting a cross in front of knees; in the centre of seal, under two canopies, to the left, a figure of St. Peter; to the right, a figure of St. Paul; in base of seal, under a plain arched canopy, a figure of the Bishop, turned to the left, kneeling in prayer.

Legend,—

WILLELMŪ TRINE CVM | SANCTI[S SVSCIPE FI]NE

The introduction of the royal arms into this Bishop's

Seal of Dignity, where we might have expected to find those of the See, is interesting. The significance, no doubt, is that this Prelate was Lord High Chancellor of England. The royal arms had previously appeared upon the episcopal seal of Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, 1308, who was Lord Chancellor, 1310; also upon the episcopal seal of Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, 1336, and Lord Chancellor, 1334. A successor of Wykeham as Bishop of Winchester (consecrated in 1447), William Waynfleet, and Lord Chancellor in 1456, also bore the royal arms upon his episcopal seal.

Another point of interest in the Seal of Dignity is that for the first time in this series do we find a Bishop using his surname (DE WIKEHAM) upon his episcopal seal. On all previous seals the Christian name only of the Bishop has appeared.

Secretum.

Circular. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. dia. (Plate III, fig. 22.)

At New College, Oxford.

In the centre a compartment divided into two storeys; in the upper one, under an ogival arch, is the seated figure of the Holy Virgin and Child. The lower storey is subdivided again into two niches, each under a pointed arch; to the left is a kneeling figure of the Bishop with his hands raised in prayer, and to the right a standing figure of St. Swithin vested as a Bishop, supporting with his left arm a crozier, his right hand raised in benediction. Outside the central compartment are two niches, on either side one; that to the left filled with a standing figure of St. Peter, that to the right with a standing figure of St. Paul. In the base of the seal is a shield charged with the arms of Wickham, the same as in his Seal of Dignity.

Legend,—

SECRETUM WYLLELMI DE | WYKEHAM EPI WYNTTON

Another Secretum.

Circular. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. dia. (Plate III, fig. 23.)

At New College, Oxford.

Under a rich octagonal canopy, the Holy Virgin and Child enthroned, her feet resting upon a raised dais. Upon each side of the throne, under beautifully decorated octagonal canopies, are full-length standing figures, the one to the left being that of St. Peter; the other, to the right, that of St. Paul. Under the tier upon which these figures are placed, the space is again divided into three; in the centre is an angel with extended wings, supporting a shield displaying the arms of Wykeham, the same as shown on his Seal of Dignity; on the left, under a beautifully carved, low-pointed arch, is the kneeling figure of the Bishop in prayer; and on the right, under a similar arch, the figure of St. Swithin in benediction. The remainder of the field of the seal is filled with beautiful tabernacle-work. -

Legend,—

SECRETUM WYLELMI | DE WYKEHAM EPI WYNTTON

The impressions of these two *secreta* have been kindly lent me for exhibition here this evening by the Rev. J. E. Sewell, D.D., Warden of New College, Oxford, who also sends an impression of Wykeham's seal as Archdeacon of Lincoln, where the Holy Virgin and Child are again introduced, and the arms of Wykeham as on all the above seals. Dr. Sewell further sends another seal of Wykeham before he was made Bishop, where his arms are a chevron (not two chevrons) between three roses.

In connection with this famous Prelate I may, perhaps, be permitted here to mention that in May 1886, when examining the charters of New College, Oxford, Dr. Sewell showed to me the remains of Wykeham's mitre, still preserved in the muniment-room there.



17



18



20



23



27



19



21



26

SEALS OF THE BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER.

HENRY BEAUFORT, A.D. 1405-1447.

*Seal of Dignity.*Vesica. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2$ in. (Plate IV, fig. 24.)

At the College, Winchester.

In the centre of the seal are three niches with projecting canopies; in the centre is a figure of St. Peter with his keys; the niche to the left is filled with a figure of St. Paul with his sword, and that to the right with the figure of St. Swithin vested as a Bishop. Over the central canopy are two niches with canopies; the one to the left filled with the figure of St. Mary Magdalene with her pot of ointment, that to the right with the figure of St. Catherine with her wheel. All the five figures are full-length. In base, under a round-headed canopy, is the three-quarter length figure of the Bishop kneeling in prayer, full face. On each side of this lower niche, upon masonry, is a shield charged with the arms of Cardinal *Beaufort*, namely—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, three fleurs-de-lis; 2nd and 3rd, three lions passant guardant in pale; the whole within a border compony.

Legend,—

[SIC:] HENRICI : DEI : GRA | WYNTONIENSIS : EPI.

*Secretum.*Circular. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. dia. (Plate IV, fig. 25.)

At the College, Winchester.

A shield charged with the arms of the Cardinal, as described in the Seal of Dignity. Ensigning the shield is a Cardinal's hat with the tassels falling on each side of the shield. The moulded circular line separating this device from the band bearing the legend is richly ornamented with quatrefoils.

Legend,—

✠ SIGILLŪ ARMOR̄ HENRICI MISERACIONE DIVINA
CARDINALIS ANGLIE EPI WYNTON

Another Secretum.

Circular. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. dia. (Plate III, fig. 26.)

At the College, Winchester.

A shield charged with the Beaufort arms as described in the Seal of Dignity. The shield is suspended by a strap passing over the ends of two antlers which nearly surround the shield. The antlers are entwined with a thin garland of flowers. A beautiful little spray of leaves and flowers separates the end from the beginning of the legend.

Legend,—

S[ECR]ETUM : [HE]NRICI : DEI : G[RATIA :] WYNTONIEN : EPI

WILLIAM WAINFLEET, A.D. 1447-1486.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{3}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (Plate IV, fig. 27.)

At the British Museum.

Three canopied niches ; in the centre a full-length standing figure of St. Peter with halo behind his head, supporting his keys with his right arm, and holding a book in his left hand. In the niche to the left is a full-length standing figure of St. Paul with halo behind his head, holding a sword erect with his left hand. In the niche to the right a full-length figure of St. Swithin in benediction, vested as a Bishop, supporting a crozier with his left arm. Above the central niche is a seated figure of the Holy Virgin and Child. Over each of the two large side-niches, under canopies with short, graceful pinnacles, are half-length figures of angels bending in adoration towards the Virgin ; a slender column comes in front of each angel. Outside the large central niches are two smaller niches, on either side one ; each divided in front by a slender column, and covered by a canopy and pinnacle ; the figure of an angel, facing inwards, is within each of these two niches. In the base of the seal

under a rounded, flat arch, is the Bishop, full face, his hands folded in prayer, wearing mitre, and supporting crozier with right arm, having in front of his lower extremities a shield charged with the arms of *Wainfleet*, namely, fusilly, on a chief three lilies slipped. Outside the arch, to the left, is a shield charged with the royal arms of *France* (modern) and *England* quarterly; to the left is a shield charged with the arms of *the See*, namely—The sword of St. Paul saltirewise, with one key of St. Peter, whose tiara appears in chief.

Legend,—

SIGILLUM : WILLELMI : DEI : GRA : | WYNTONIENSIS :
EPISCOPI

This beautiful seal is known only by this impression, which unfortunately is much broken at the top. The date of its engraving is uncertain. From the fact of its bearing the royal arms it is probable that it was engraved or altered after the Bishop had been appointed Lord Chancellor in 1456. The arms of the See are here met with upon this series of seals for the first time, and are of a different form to that subsequently adopted.

PETER COURTNEY, A.D. 1486-1493.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ in. (Plate IV, fig. 28.)

At the College, Winchester.

Within a niche, under an arched canopy, is a seated figure of the Holy Virgin and Child. To the left, in a smaller niche, under a canopy, is a standing figure of St. Peter holding the keys over his right shoulder; to the right, in a similar niche, is a standing figure of St. Paul supporting a sword, point downwards. Above the central niche is a smaller one with a representation of the Blessed Trinity, a seated figure of the Father supporting a cross. In the base of the seal, under a rich canopy, is a kneeling figure of the Bishop in prayer. To the left is a shield charged with two keys in saltire, with wards upwards, endorsed, surmounting a sword erect in pale, for the *See of*

Winchester. To the right is another shield charged with three *torteaux* and a label of three points, for *Courtney*.

Legend,—

SIGILLU PETRI COUR[T]NAY | EPISCOPI WINTON

This is the second seal in this series in which the arms of the diocese are met with. They differ from those displayed upon the seal of Bishop Wainfleet. They here appear precisely the same as those of the See of Exeter. The tinctures, of course, might have been different; but the possibility of confusion manifestly existed, which, no doubt, accounts for the further change in the arms which occurred later.

STEPHEN GARDINER, A.D. 1531-1556.

Seal of Dignity.

Oval. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Plate IV, fig. 29.)

At Pembroke College, Oxford.

Renaissance tabernacle-work divided into three panels; in each panel is a full-length standing figure with a halo behind its head; the one to the left, holding in the right hand two keys across the left shoulder, is that of St. Peter; the one in the centre, a Bishop in benediction, in pontifical vestments, is that of St. Swithin; the one to the right, holding in the right hand a book, and with the left hand supporting a sword, point downwards, is that of St. Paul. In an upper panel is a seated figure representing the Holy Trinity, the Father supporting a cross. In the base of the seal is a shield surrounded by an inscribed garter, and ensigned with a mitre; the shield bears impaled arms, namely, *dexter*, two keys in bend sinister, surmounting a sword in bend dexter, for the *See of Winchester*; *sinister*, on a cross between four griffins' heads erased, a cinquefoil pierced, for *Gardiner*.

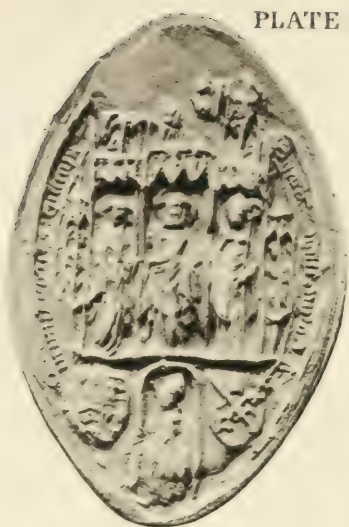
Legend, on a ribbon twining round the greater part of the seal,—

S. STEPHANI PERMISSIONE DIVINA WINTON EPI

The arms of the See are somewhat indistinct, but appear to be in the form which has since been followed



24



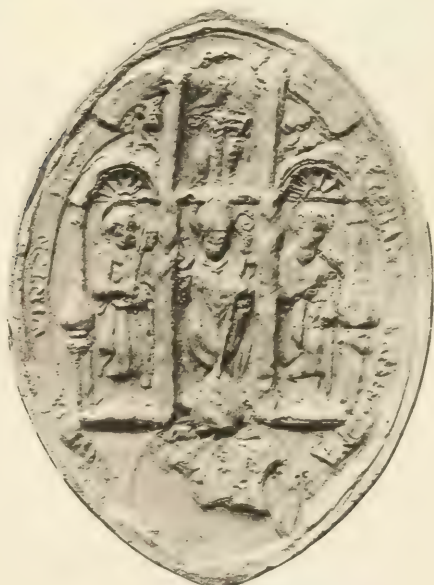
27



25



28



29

for many centuries. For the first time the arms are encircled with an inscribed garter.

The appearance of the garter, reappearing, as it does, on almost all the subsequent seals of this series, reminds us that a Bishop of Winchester, William of Edyngton, was in the year 1345 appointed the first Prelate of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and that from the foundation of this Order of Knighthood to the present time (with the exception of a few months in the year 1553), the office has always been held by the Bishop of Winchester. The change in the form in the legend, *PERMISSIONE DIVINA*, is also worthy of note.

The next two seals are of post-Reformation design, and the subjects for them are both taken from incidents recorded in the Old Testament.

JOHN WHITE, A.D. 1556-1560.

Seal of Dignity (fragment only).

Vesica probably, 3 × 2 in. (Plate V, fig. 30.)

At the Society of Antiquaries.

The upper half of this seal represents the patriarch Israel seated on a throne, robed in a garment coming down to his ankles, with his arms crossed in front of his body, "guiding his hands wittingly", in benediction, over the heads of two boys, Ephraim and Manasseh, who, with folded hands and bowed heads, are kneeling, one on each side of the throne. The boys wear ruffs, girdles, puffed sleeves, puffed pantaloons, and tight hose. Behind the figure bowing under the left hand of the patriarch is the name *EPHRAIM*: the engraver thus putting the younger brother where he obtains the left-handed blessing, instead of the first-born, over whom it was actually pronounced. The field of the lower half of the seal is diapered, and upon it is a shield charged with impaled arms, namely, *dexter*, two keys endorsed with wards upwards, conjoined at the bows, in bend sinister; surmounted with a sword, point upwards, in bend dexter, for the *See of Winchester*; *sinister*, three roses slipped, for *White*. Encompassing the shield is an inscribed garter ensigned with a mitre with long labels.

ROBERT HORNE, A.D. 1560-1579.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Plate V, fig. 31.)

At the College, Winchester.

This seal represents the whale casting out Jonah upon the dry land. The whale occupies a large space upon the seal, and is partially covered with water. Above the sea are clouds, amid which appears the date 1560. To the left of the seal, around the side of the sea, is land with buildings erected thereon. The prophet is just emerging from between the jaws of the whale, and has his arms folded in front of his body. In the base of the seal is an elaborate scroll-shield displaying the arms of the *See of Winchester* impaled with those of *Horne*, namely—Three bugle-horns stringed.

Legend,—

SIGILLUM R.....

What the exact significance of this design may have been I am at a loss to state. Amongst other suggestions the following presents itself. Perhaps this was a case of *Nolo episcopari*, Robert Horne having been unwilling to assume or enter upon the duties of the episcopal office until during the cloudy year of 1560 he found himself cast upon the diocese of Winchester.

THOMAS BILLSON, A.D. 1596-1616.

Seal of Dignity.

Probably vesica. 3×2 in. (Plate V, fig. 32.)

At the British Museum.

The remains of the impression of this seal are so slight that it seems an almost useless task to attempt to describe them. From what is left, there appears to be a full-length figure of St. Andrew holding a saltire cross under a canopy, supported on both sides by two columns. A beaded line separates the device from the legend. Below the Saint is possibly a coat of arms with the point of the sword of St. Paul in bend dexter.

A gradual deterioration in the seals, both in respect of

beauty of design and of execution, had set in in the fifteenth century. This deterioration had subsequently gone on increasing rapidly. With the Reformation a marked change in character of subjects displayed on the seals had been introduced, as we have seen in the seals of Bishops White and Horne. In the seventeenth century, however, an entirely new type of seal appeared. There were reasons why the mediæval type should have passed away, and why a new type should have been brought in. Beautiful as the tabernacle-work on the seals had been, and unobjectionable as the character of the designs had seemed at the time when the seals had been engraved, a great change in the attitude of thought had since taken place in the minds of the people throughout the country. The Puritan spirit was felt by many within the Church itself, and attempted representations of the Deity were by some regarded as a flagrant breach of the Second Commandment, and figures of the Virgin and Apostles on a seal were looked upon as a mute appeal for the invocation of the Saints. Besides these religious objections, there were considerations of another character to be thought of too. After all, a seal was affixed to a document, not as an artistic adornment, but to enable those who had to deal with the document to know that the document itself was a genuine instrument properly authenticated. For the purpose of recognising this, the seal needed to bear marks easy of recognition. Now the seals filled with tabernacle work, beautiful as they were, bore scarcely anything distinctive or peculiar to any one diocese upon them. The Saints which filled the niches were often the Saints to whom the Cathedral Church of the See was dedicated. We must remember, however, that one Saint differs from another Saint in sigillary portraiture merely by the emblem that he bears. These emblems, in many cases, were the leading features in the coats of arms which, during the fourteenth century, Bishops had begun to place upon their Episcopal Seals. Thus, in the series before us, we have noticed seals with the Apostles Peter and Paul standing upon them, and marked by their emblems, and the same emblems displayed upon shields

in the same seals. But, although doubly marked, the emblems in each case were very small; so small, in fact, that they required careful search to discover; and even when found they were so small that in the rough-and-ready way in which impressions were commonly taken, the emblems were not legible, or, at the best, were difficult of discernment. For practical purposes, seals were required so marked that there should be no difficulty in seeing at a glance, on all impressions taken in the ordinary way, and after being subjected to ordinary usage, the Diocese of the Bishop whose seal it was; and that the paternal arms of each Bishop should be so distinctly shown that there should be no difficulty in recognising which Bishop of the particular See it was whose seal was before one. Thus was brought in the new type of Episcopal Seal, the *modern*, or *heraldic*, or, if one chooses so to term it, the *utilitarian*. In this appears a shield displaying the arms of the See impaled with the paternal arms of the individual Bishop; the shield being ensigned with a mitre, and the whole device surrounded by a band bearing a legend stating the name, etc., of the Bishop. In the seals for Winchester, the shield is surrounded by an inscribed garter, the Bishop being, as before stated, the Prelate of that Most Noble Order.

PETER MEWS, A.D. 1684-1706.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ in. (Plate V, fig. 33.)

At the British Museum.

A scroll-shield with acanthus leaves on each side, ensigned with two cherubs, the backs of their heads nearly touching, with one wing following the outline of the shield, and the other wing elevated. The shield bears the arms of the *See of Winchester*, impaling those of *Mews*, namely, Paly of six, on a chief three crosses crosslet. The shield, etc., is encompassed by an inscribed garter in oval form, ensigned with a mitre.

Legend,—

SIGILLVMON . EPIS....



30



31



32



33

CHARLES RICHARD SUMNER, A.D. 1827-1869.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Plate VI, fig. 34.)

A circular shield charged with impaled arms, namely, *dexter*, Gu. a sword in bend sinister, surmounted by two keys endorsed and conjoined at the bows in bend dexter, for the *See of Winchester*; *sinister*, Ermine, two chevrons, gu., for *Sumner*. The shield is surrounded by an inscribed garter, which is ensigned with a mitre.

Legend,—

THE SEAL OF CHARLES RICH^d SUMNER. | D.D.
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. 1827

The charges in the arms of the See are misplaced.

There are many seals in this series of which I am unable to show an impression; but of those that I exhibit to-night this is the first (1) in which the tinctures on the arms are marked, (2) in which the legend is in English, (3) in which the University degree of the Bishop is indicated, and (4) in which the date of the Bishop's succession to the See is stated.

Similar changes had by this time been made in nearly all the episcopal seals in use in England. The earliest examples of these changes, which have come under my notice, are the following,—(1) *tinctures marked*, the seal of Edward Willes, Bishop of St. David's, 1743 (that is to say, rather more than a century after the first introduction of this mode of marking in heraldry generally); (2) *legend in English*, the seal of Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1723; (3) *University degree indicated*, the seal of Robert Lowth, Bishop of St. David's, 1766. There may be earlier instances of these changes which so far have not come under my notice; but the changes once made, were speedily followed until they shortly became the general custom.

SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, A.D. 1869-1873.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. 3×2 in. (Plate VI, fig. 35.)

At the Author's Studio.

A shield bearing the arms of the *See of Winchester* as

in the seal of Bishop White (1556-1560), but with the field tinctured, gu., impaling the arms of *Wilberforce*, namely—Ar., an eagle displayed, and in dexter chief, a mullet for difference. The shield partly surmounts an inscribed garter, which is ensigned with a mitre.

Legend, between an outer border of quatrefoils and an inner beaded line,—

✠ THE . SEAL . OF . SAMUEL . WILBERFORCE . | D.D.
BISHOP . OF . WINCHESTER . 1869

EDWARD HAROLD BROWNE, A.D. 1873-1891.

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. 3×2 in. (Plate VI, fig. 36.)

At the Author's Studio.

A shield bearing the arms of the *See of Winchester* (as last described) impaling those of *Browne*, namely—Sa., three lions passant in bend between two double cottises. The shield partly overlays an inscribed garter, which surmounts two crosiers in saltire. Ensigning this device is a mitre, with very long labels. The design is surrounded by fourteen cusps and twelve cinquefoils. Legend between an outer border of quatrefoils and an inner plain line.

✠ THE . SEAL . OF . EDWARD . HAROLD . BROWNE . | D.D.
BISHOP . OF . WINCHESTER . 1873

ANTHONY WILSON THOROLD, A.D. 1891.

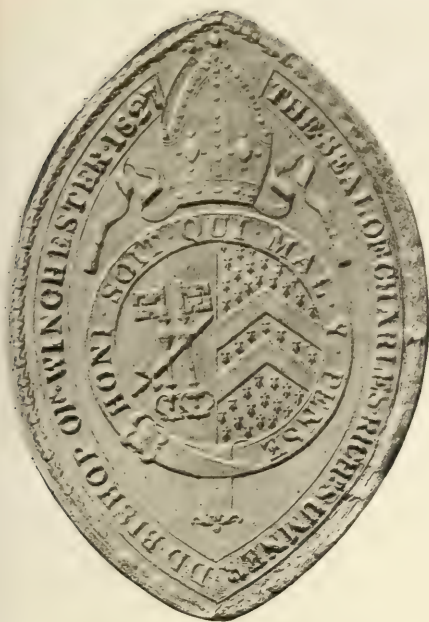
(The present Bishop.)

Seal of Dignity.

Vesica. $3\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Plate VI, fig. 37.)

At the Author's Studio.

Upon a diapered ground, a shield displaying the arms of the *See of Winchester* (as last described) impaling those of *Thorold*, namely—Sa., three goats, salient. The shield partly surmounts an inscribed garter, which is ensigned with a mitre. From beneath the garter hangs a ribbon suspending the badge of the Prelate of the



34



35



36



37

Most Noble Order of the Garter. The field is enclosed by a series of twenty-two cusps, eleven on each side. Legend between an inner and outer rope border.

✠ THE SEAL OF ANTHONY WILSON THOROLD. | D:D:
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. A.D. 1891

In glancing once again over the seals just described, we see that each of the three types or styles has prevailed for about two hundred and fifty years. Let us hope that a new style may now be developed, even if it be by a fresh adaptation of some features of the past types. The decision, of course, really lies with the bishops of the future. If they, upon their appointments, were willing, designs of artistic beauty, combining the simplicity of the early type of seal with certain obvious advantages of the modern type, might be arranged which, whilst leaving these important and interesting seals as easy of recognition as they at present are, would make them sources of pleasure to all who see them, and to all who in the future will have occasion to examine or refer to them. Personally, I cannot see why on modern seals Bishops should not be portrayed in the vestments or habits in which they usually appear now-a-days when discharging their lofty functions. In many of our cathedrals, monuments have already been erected bearing effigies of Bishops, who have died within the last few years, so clothed. Most of these monuments are certainly not lacking in artistic beauty or in dignity of appearance, and I cannot see why there should be any insurmountable difficulty in securing both these most desirable features when portraying a Bishop so vested or habited upon an Episcopal Seal. I may, perhaps, be permitted to state that already I have had the honour of designing and engraving Episcopal Seals in which the Archbishop or Bishop appears either in cope or chasuble, and that such seals are now actually in use in various dioceses in the Provinces of Canterbury, York, New Zealand, South Africa, the West Indies, and Canada.





ON THE HEAD OF SIMON OF SUDBURY,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

A RELIC

PRESERVED IN THE CHURCH OF ST. GREGORY,
SUDBURY, SUFFOLK.

BY W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., SUB-DEAN
OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

(Read 6th Feb. 1895.)



THE episode which forms the subject of the present paper belongs to the stormy days of Richard II. He succeeded his grandfather at a very early age. Born on April 3, 1366, the death of Edward III, on June 21, 1377, placed him on the throne. He was but a youth of fifteen in June 1381, when he encountered Wat Tyler, with his thirty thousand followers, in Smithfield, and certainly, on that occasion, exhibited remarkable courage and gallantry. But the times were very evil. The violence of the nobles and the weakness of the throne, disastrous wars abroad and anarchy at home, had prepared the way for tumults, and, indeed, for civil war.

Mr. J. R. Green gives a summary of the stirring events of the insurrection.¹ The discontent, he says, was simply political. The people "demanded the suppression of the poll-tax and better government. Their aim was to slay the nobles and wealthier clergy, to take the King into their own hands, and pass laws which should seem good to the commons of the land." They had a special grudge against the Archbishop of Canterbury for that he had discouraged pilgrimages; and they plundered his palace in the cathedral city without serious opposition.

¹ *History of the English People*, i, 471-479.

Each success swelled their numbers, and, in due time, they besieged the Tower of London itself, in which the King and the Archbishop were all but prisoners.

So far back as 1370, the Prelate, then Bishop of London,¹ had acted with great courage, but in a most unpopular manner. It was the vigil of the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and Bishop Sudbury encountered a caravan of pilgrims on their way to the famous shrine. They asked his benediction. He gave them a severe lecture. They were seeking, he said, the plenary indulgences granted at the martyr's shrine. Such indulgences were valueless without true repentance, and for this, he was convinced, they were wholly unprepared. A pleasant holiday was not, necessarily, a religious exercise. The pilgrims were enraged at this wise counsel. The glorious martyr, St. Thomas, was insulted. One of their number, bolder than the rest, utters a prophecy, only too true, "At peril of my life I foretell that thou shalt end thy days by a death of ignominy." To which the people shouted, "Amen, amen."² His doctrine was sound and true, but perhaps it was not very politic to select such an occasion for its expression. Wiclif, then chaplain to the King, was in high favour, and the Bishop seems to have shared some of his opinions.

This is not the place for a summary of the historical events of the reign, nor for a review of the changes, religious or political, which were impending. Attention must be concentrated on the closing hours of Archbishop Sudbury. The rioters accused him, as Lord Chancellor, of prodigal expenditure of the public money. If his accounts should be unsatisfactory, "they openly declared that they would be satisfied with nothing less than the Archbishop's life. It is said that there were sixty thousand men massed together, infuriated with drink, wild with plunder. The garrison of the Tower

¹ A bill of the expenses of repairing, correcting, and binding a Missal given to St. Paul's Cathedral by Cymon de Sudbury, late Bishop of London, is preserved in the Record Room of the Cathedral. (Press A., Box 73, No. 1883.)

² Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, iv, 250, 251.

was weak, and some amongst them were in league with the insurgents."¹

The story of the events which followed may best be told in the exact words of some old chronicler. Stow shall describe for us the excesses of the rebels:—

The same Thursday² the said Commons went to Saint Martins-le-Grand in London, and tooke from the high Altar in that Church one Roger Legat, chiefe sisar (or questmonger), led him into Cheape, and cut off his head; at that time also they beheaded 18 in divers places of the City. During which time, divers of the Commons went unto the Tower, there to have spoken with the King, but could not be heard, wherefore they besieged the Tower on that side towards Saint Catherins. The other Commons that were in the Citty went to the Hospitall of Saint John, and by the way burnt the house of Roger Legat lately beheaded; they burnt al the houses belonging to Saint Johns, and then burnt the fayre Pryory of the Hospitall of Saint John, causing the same to burn the space of seven dayes after. At what time, the King, being in a Turret of the Tower, and seeing the Mannors of Sauoy, the Pryory of Saint Johns Hospitall, and other houses on fire, hee demanded of his Councell what was best to doe in that extremity, but none of them could counsaile in that case. The King there in a Tower, toward Saint Catherines, made Proclamation, that all people should depart to their homes peaceably, and hee would pardon them all their trespasses: but they with one voyce cryed, they would not go before they had the tryayors³ within the Tower, and Charters to free them from all service, and other matters which they would demand: this the King granted, and caused a Clerke to write in their presence as followeth:

Stow gives the text of the charter, and proceeds,—

Whereunto hee set his signet in their presence, and sent it vnto them by two Knights, one of them standing vp in a chayre above the rest, that euery one might heare. During which time the King remained in the Towre, to his greate grieffe, for when the Commons heard the writings, they said it was but a mockery, and therefore returned to London, proclaiming thorow the Citty, that all the men of Law, all they of the Chauncery, and of the Exchequer, and all that could make any Writ or Letter, should be beheaded, wheresoeuer they might bee found.⁴ The whole number of the

¹ Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, iv, 305-306.

² Stow, *Annales, or a Generall Chronicle of England*, pp. 286-287, continued by Edmund Howes. 4to., London, 1631.

³ "tryayors". Probably traitors is the word intended.

Compare Jack Cade in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Second Part. "It

common people, were at that time divided into three parts, of the which one part was attending to destroy the Mannor of Highbery, and other places belonging to the Priory of S. John: An other company lay at the Miles end, East of the City: the third kept at the Tower-hill, there to spoyle the King of such victualls as were brought towards him. The company assembled on the Miles end, sent to command the King, that hee should come to them without delay vnarmed, or without any force, which if hee refused to doe, they would surely pull downe the Tower, neyther should he escape aliuie; who taking counsell of a few, by 7 of the Clocke, the King rode to the Miles end, with his mother, in a whirlicote¹ (or chariot as we now terme it), and the Earles of Buckingham, Kent, Warwick, and Oxford, S. Thomas Percy, S. Robert Knowles, and the Maior of London, with diuers other knights and esquires. Sir Aubery de Vere bare the King's sword. Thus with a few vnarmed, the King went towards the rebells, in great feare; and so the gates of the Tower being set open, a great multitude of them entred the same. There was the same time in the Tower, 600 warlikemen furnished with armor and weapon, expert men in arms, and 600 Archers, all which did quaille in stomacke. For the basest of the rustickes, not many together, but euery one by himselfe durst presume to enter the Kings chamber, or his mothers, with their weapons, to put in feare, each of the men of warre, Knights or other: many of them came into the Kings priuy chamber, and played the wantons, in sitting, lying, and sporting them on the Kings bed: and that more is, invited the Kings mother to kisse with them, yet durst none of those men of warre (strange to be said) once withstand them: they came in and out like Masters, that in times past were slaves of most vile condition.

Whilste therefore, these rustickes sought the Archbishop with terrible noyse and fury, running vp and downe, at length, finding one of his seruants, they charge him to bring them where his Master was—whome they named traytor—which seruant, daring doe none other, brought them to the Chappell; where, after Masse had beene sayd, and hauing receiued the communion, the Archbishoppe was busie in his prayers, for not vnknowing of their comming and purpose, hee had passed the last night in confessing of his sinnes and in deuout prayers. When therefore hee heard they were come, with great constancy, hee said to his men, "let vs now

will be proved to thy face that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian ear can endure to hear." He is speaking to Lord Say, Lord Treasurer of England.

¹ "Whirlicote", an open car or chariot. "Of old time coatches were not known in this island, but chariots or whirlicotes, and they only used of princes or great estates, such as had their footmen about them." (Stow's *London*, 1599, p. 65, quoted by Nares.)

goe, surely it is best to dye when it is no pleasure to liue;" and with that the tormentors entring, cried, "Where is the traitor?" The Archbishop answered, "Behold, I am the Archbishop whom you seeke, not a traitor." They therefore layd hands on him and drew him out of the Chappell, they drew him out of the Tower gates, to the Tower-hil, where, being compassed about with many thousands, and seeing swords about his head drawne in excessiue number, threatening to him death, hee said vnto them thus: "What is it, deare brethren, you purpose to doe; what is mine offence committed against you, for which yee will kill mee? You were best to take heede, that if I be killed, who am your Pastor, there come not on you the indignation of the iust reuenger; or at the least, for such a fact all England bee put vnder interdiction." Hee could vnneath¹ pronounce these words, before they cryed out with an horrible noyse, that they neither feared the interdiction nor the Pope to be aboue them. The Archbishop seeing death at hand, spake with comfortable words, as hee was an eloquent man, and wise beyond all wise men of the Realme; Lastly, after forgiuenesse granted to the executioner that should behead him, hee kneeling down, offered his necke, to him that should strike it off, being stricken in the necke, but not deadly, hee putting his hand to his necke said thus, "Aha! it is the hand of God." Hee had not removed his hand from the place where the paine was, but that beeing suddenly stricken, his fingers ends being cut off, and part of the arteries, hee fell downe, but yet he dyed not, till being mangled with 8 strokes in the necke and in the head, hee fulfilled most worthy martyrdome. There lay his body vnburi'd all that Friday, and the morrow till afternoone none daring to deliuer his body to the sepulture, his head these wicked tooke, and nayling thereon his hoo'de, they fixe it on a pole, and set it on Lendon Bridge in place where before stood the head of Sir John Minsterworth.

This Archbishoppe, Simon Tibald alias Sudbury, Sonne to Nicholas Tibald, gentleman, borne in the Towne of Sudbury, in Suffolke, Doctor of both Lawes, was 18 yeeres Bishop of London, in which time, hee builded a goodly College in place where his father's house stood, and endued it with great possessions, and furnished the same with secular Clerkes and other Ministers, valued at the suppression 122. pound. 18. shillings in lands by yeere. Hee builded the vpper end of S. Gregories Church at Sudbury. After being translated to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury in An. 1375, he re-edified the walls of that Citty, from the West-gate (which hee builded) to the North-gate, which had been destroyed by the Danes before the conquest of William the bastard. Hee was slain as yee haue heard, and afterwards buried in the Cathedrall Church of Canterbury. There dyed with him

¹ "unneath"; that is, scarcely.

Sir Robert Hales, a most valiant Knight, Lord of S. Johns, and treasurer of England, and John Legge, one of the Kinges sericants at armes, and a Franciscan Frier, named, William Aple-dore the Kings Confessor.

So far, Stow has been our guide, and has given a picturesque account of the circumstances connected with the murder of the Archbishop. Another English chronicler, Raphaell Holinshed, though his narrative is not so extended as that of Stow, adds a few significant details. He tells very briefly the story of the martyrdom :—

“The third companie kept vpon the tower-hill, and would not suffer anie vittels to be conuied into the tower, where the King at that time was lodged, and was put in such feare by those rude people, that he suffered them to enter into the tower, where they sought so narowlie for the lord chancelor, that finding him in the chappell, they drew him foorth together with the lord treasurer, and on the tower hill, without reuerence of their estates and degrees, with great noise and fell cries, they stroke off their heads.”

Holinshed details many other acts of violence and deeds of sacrilege, and gives a much clearer account of the evil behaviour of the rabble to the King's mother than that which Stow supplies :—

“They that entered the tower, vsed themselues most presumptuouslie, and no lesse vnreuerentlie against the princesse of Wales, mother to the King ; for thrusting into hir chamber, they offered to kisse hir, and swasht downe vpon hir bed, putting hir into such feare, that she fell into a swoone, and being taken vp and recouered, was had to the water side, and put into a barge, and conuied to the place called the queenes wardrobe, or the tower riall, where she remained all that day and the night following, as a woman halfe dead, till the King came to recomfort hir. It was strange to consider, in what feare the lords, knights and gentlemen stood of the cruell proceedings of those rude and base people. For where there were six hundred armed men, and as manie archers in the tower at that present, there was not one that durst gaine saie their dooinges.”¹

In Thomas Walsingham's *Ypodigma Neustriæ*² there is a very brief notice of the death of the Archbishop.

¹ Holinshed's *Chronicle*, the edition of 1585.

² Master of the Rolls Edition, p. 335.

After mentioning the fact of the rebellion of the rustics and common men, he adds :—

“ inter quos, magistrum Simonem de Sudbyria, metropolitanum totius Angliæ, regniq[ue] Cancellarium, et Dominum Robertum Hales, qui fuit Prior Sancti Johannis et regni Thesaurarius, extractos de Turri Londoniarum, crudeliter decollarunt, sub duce quodam Waltero Tyleræ, superbo prorsus, et ignobili, ganeone.”¹

He refers *ad nostra majora chronica* for further particulars of this rustic tragedy, as he styles it; and certainly his *Historia Anglicana* is well worthy of the student's attention. For Walsingham's account² of the martyrdom is rich in details. Before his death the Archbishop, seeing that the end was inevitable, spake many salutary words, “ ut erat vir eloquentissimus, et incomparabiliter ultra omnes regni sapientes sapiens.” He pardons his executioner, who seems to have been a very clumsy fellow, for not until the eighth stroke, “ miserabiliter mutilatus in collo et in capite, dignum, ut credimus, martirium complevisset.” The body lay unburied, “ toto illo die veneris in quo fuit festum sancti Basilii,” and also on the morrow. The headsman was visited with insanity and blindness. A man from the crowd, impelled by avarice, in the night after the martyrdom, secretly approached the body and stole the episcopal ring.

Miracles are said to have been wrought by access to his tomb. A man, many years blind, having at the death of the Archbishop prayed fervently for recovery of sight, the petition was granted. Another blind man, of Dover, who had been blind two years, visited the tomb and regained his vision :—

“ Mulier quædam, quæ impregnata fuerat et parere nullo modo poterat, postulato ejus auxilio, eodem die deliberata est de tribus masculis puerulis, qui omnes baptizati sunt.”

And there were many other wonders, amongst which the executions of the ringleaders of the mob must be

¹ “Ganeo”, a fellow of ill repute.

² Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Master of the Rolls Series), vol. i, 461.

mentioned, as undoubted instances of divine vengeance. Walsingham specifies particularly Johannes Starling de Estsexia, who gloried in having been the executioner of the Archbishop :—

Iste, mox post illud perpetratum facinus, arreptus a diabolo, insanire coepit, et, domum veniens, nudum gladium a collo suo suspendit ante pectus suum, et cultellum, quem *daggere* dicimus, etiam evaginatum, suspendit ad tergum; et ita vesanus circuibat per plateas et vicos, clamans et protestans se cum eis Archiepiscopum occidissee.”¹

He then came to London to receive, as he said, his reward; which, indeed, says the chronicler, he did receive, in that he was beheaded.

Another early notice of these events should here be introduced, from the chronicles of William Thorne, a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury² :—

Populus in furorem versus in die festo Corporis Christi cursu rapido *Londoniam* peciit, ubi totum illum diem cum nocte sequenti inquietus populus et impetuusus in pulcherrimis ædificiis destruendis, in effusione humani sanguinis jugiter intentus, facto mane turrin *Londoniensem* ingreditur, et Archiepiscopum *Cantuariensem* cum Magistro *Hospitalis* sancti *Johannis* qui illis diebus Cancellariæ et Thesaurariæ regni officiis fungebantur inde extrahens XIV die mensis Junii eodem die apud TOURHEL³ capitibus privavit: et caput Archiepiscopi impositum stipite super pontem *Londoniensem* fecit affigi. . . . Post hæc monachi corpus sui præsulis tollentes condigno honore in sua ecclesia sepelierunt.

In the volumes of *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, edited by Mr. Thomas Wright, in the Master of the Rolls series, is a noteworthy Latin poem upon the murder of the Archbishop. “The writer laments the confusion into which the kingdom had been thrown, in which the nobles had entirely lost their spirit and courage, while the mob ruled and ordered everything at its will. The world, in fact, was turned upside down, for the nobles had sunk into servility, and the serfs had become lords; the judge was condemned,

¹ Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ii, 15.

² *De rebus gestis Abbatum Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ*, printed in Roger Twysden's *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores decem*, column 2157.

³ That is, of course, Tower Hill.

and the criminal occupied his seat. England having fallen under the Pope's anathema for her outrage upon the Church, had lost all her good name. The young and feeble King was not yet feared by the populace, and hence the lower orders rose, went about furiously, slaughtering people, throwing down houses, plundering and burning. They dragged the Archbishop out of the Tower, cut off his head, and stuck it up on London Bridge; but it was taken down by Sir John Walworth (the Lord Mayor) and reverently wrapped up in a pall. Next day the populace behaved so threateningly towards the King that they extorted from him letters of pardon; nevertheless, their leader would have run the King through with his sword had not Walworth struck off his head, which was raised upon London Bridge in place of that of the Archbishop. The fate of the latter is lamented in great bitterness, and the writer exults over the various degrees of providential vengeance which fell upon his murderers."¹

This is an admirable summary of the poem, in the Editor's own words, which will be better understood by perusal of the following extracts from the original :²—

Versus de tempore Johannis Straw.

Ætatis teneræ quia tunc erat ipse hierarcha,
Mactatur temere sine iudicio patriarcha;
Ecclesiæ princeps, patronus, et archithronatus,
Est decollatus, restat vindicta deinceps.
Votis scurrarum caput arripitur patriarchæ,
Non procul ex arce quæ fertur Lundoniarum.
Insuper a lixis caput est in ponte levatum,
Atque capellatum³ clavis in vertice fixis.
Walword tunc miles caput abstulit inde patenter,
In pallas habiles involvit idem reverenter.

Sic moritur Symon de bacca dictus et austri,
Ecclesiæ plaustris rota, dux, auriga, vel ymon.
Rector erat Regis et Cancellarius iste.
O facinus triste! perit hic sine iudice legis.

¹ Introduction, pp. lviii, lix.

² Text of the poem, vol. i, pp. 227-230.

³ "Capellatum"; cf. *arbor capillata*, a tree on which the Vestal Virgins suspended their shorn hair.

Festo Basilii sexta rutilante diei,
 Post ictus gladii Symon datus est requiei.
 Gleba fuit capiti de nocte reddita tandem,
 Pectora contriti cives comitantur eandem,
 Versus metropolim, Cantuaria quæ vocitatur,
 Bustum portatur, quo præsul præfuit olim.
 Post tempus multum Dorobernia¹ corpus humavit,
 Atque decoravit cathedrali sede sepultum.

The reader may well be spared the threatenings of Divine judgment which the poet showers down in great abundance upon the perpetrators of this cruel murder : but the verses into which the writer endeavours to compress within the limits of a couple of hexameters the queer, grotesque names of the leaders of the insurrection, are far too curious to be omitted here :—

Jak Chep, Tronche, Jon Wrau, Thom Myllere, Tyler,
 Jak Strawe,
 Erle of the Plo, Rak to Deer, et Hob Carter,
 Rak-strawe ;
 Isti ductores in plebe fuere priores,
 Per quos mœrores creverunt atque dolores.
 Istorum capita collistrigiis modo vernant,
 Ut populi cernant ne cupiant vetita.

Weever² quotes from Gower's *Vox Clamantis* (chapter xi) a still quainter specimen of Latinity, in which the author presses the names of the peasants prominent in the insurrection into some sort of metrical arrangement :

WATTE vocat, cui *Thome* venit, neque *Symme* retardat
Bette que *Gibbe* simul *Hykke* venire jubent.
Colle furit, quem *Gibbe* juvat nocumenta parantes,
 Cum quibus ad dampnum *Wille* coire vovet.
Grigge rapit, dum *Dawe* strepit, comes est quibus *Hobbe*
Lorkin et in medio non minor esse putat.
Hudde ferit quos *Judde* terit, dum *Tebbe* juvatur
Jakke domos que viros vellit, et ense necat,
Hogge suam pompam vibrat, dum se putat omni
 Maiorem rege nobilitate fore.
Balle propheta docet quem spiritus ante malignus
 Edocuitque sua tunc fuit alta schola.

It is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that

¹ "Dorobernia"; that is, Canterbury.

² Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, edition of 1767, p. 482.

these verses were the work of an eye-witness, or, at the very least, of a writer who derived his information from the lips of one who was present at the scene of the martyrdom. The details are singularly fresh and vivid—the head is placed on London Bridge by the camp-followers, *a laxis*; it is fixed with nails, *clavis in vertice fixis*; it is taken down by the Lord Mayor, and by him reverently folded in a comely pall; the actual date of the martyrdom, *Festo Basilii sexta rutilante diei*,¹ with that epithet *rutilante*,² which here may picturesquely be rendered blood-red; the conveyance of the body to Canterbury, the burial, the erection of a monument in the Cathedral. All these vivid touches are clear marks of contemporary work.

The poet's etymology is not his strong point, for it is to be feared that scholars of to-day would not be willing to derive the word Sudbury *de bacca et austri*. Credit must be given to him for his ingenuity, if the reader will not grant his assent to the conclusion.

The same volume of *Political Songs* contains another composition in alternate lines of English and Latin, from which it may suffice to take a single verse, that, namely, which relates to the death of the Prelate:—

Laddus loude thay loȝe,
clamantes voce sonora,
 The bisschop wen thay sloȝe
et corpora plura decora;
 Maners down thay drowȝe,
in regno non meliora;
 Harne thay dud inoȝe,
*habuerunt libera lora.*³

Le Neve says that the Archbishop's will was proved die Sancti Basilii 1381. But this seems scarcely possible. He has just said that the Prelate "was beheaded by the rebels 14th June 1381, and, after the rebellion was

¹ In the Sarum Breviary the Feast of St. Basil is June 14, which fell this year upon a Friday.

² "Rutilans" is a usual epithet of Aurora. In the Vulgate of St. Matthew, xvi, 3, it is used with "cælum": "Hodie tempestas, rutilat enim triste cælum",—the sky is red and lowering.

³ *Political Poems and Songs*, p. 225.

appeased, was buried in his own cathedral." Now, St. Basil's day is June 14th, and it seems very improbable that the will should have been proved on the very day of the martyrdom. The will has been sought for in vain for the purposes of this paper.¹

Godwin² gives the name of the actual murderer, John Starling, and notes that within a few days he was himself beheaded, together with other malefactors who had taken part in the tragedy; and he records that the body of the Archbishop, together with the head, was carried to Canterbury, where, "ab australi parte altaris sancti Dunstani sepulturæ honorifice mandatum est, paulo supra tumulum Stratfordi": that is, in the cathedral. He adds, that whilst he was yet Bishop of London, "superiorem partem Ecclesiæ sancti Georgii [an error for Gregorii] Sudburiae de novo construxit"; in other words, that he rebuilt the chancel of St. Gregory, Sudbury.

The Church of Holy Cross, Canterbury, was removed by Archbishop Sudbury from its old position above Westgate, when that bar was rebuilt, and was placed beside it; and his arms appear within the porch.³ These arms, as given in the *Blazon of Episcopacy*,⁴ are, *azure*, a talbot sejant and bordure engrailed *argent*. So they appear in a window at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. In Dr. Woodward's *Treatise on Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, the same arms are given as being those of the College of Sudbury, Suffolk, but the tinctures are varied, for the field is *gules*, and the charges *or*.

Of the College of Sudbury, Dugdale⁵ preserves three documents:—1. The Royal License granted to Simon de Sudbury, Bishop of London, and to John his brother, for

¹ Miss Emma M. Walford writes, "The will of Simon of Sudbury is not at Somerset House: the earliest will there is 1383. I searched the earliest Calendar in the hope that the will might not have been proved at once, but the name does not appear here." Nor is it found amongst the few Canterbury wills calendared in the Historical MSS. Commission Reports.

² *De Præsulibus*, edition Richardson, fo., Cambridge, 1743.

³ Murray, *Handbook of Kent*, fourth edition, p. 138.

⁴ By the Rev. W. K. Riland, Bedford.

⁵ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, edit. 1830, vi, 1370, 1371.

the foundation of the College, 49 Edw. III ; 2. A further license to the same persons concerning the endowment of the College, 3 Rich. II ; 3. And a similar license, 7 Rich. II. The Bishop purchased the Church of St. Gregory of the nuns of Eaton, in Warwickshire, in 1374, and in the following year caused it to be made collegiate. He and his brother founded, "in the place where their father's house stood, a goodly college for six secular priests, of whom one was to be warden or master." In the time of Henry VIII the endowment amounted to £122 : 18 : 3. It was surrendered 36 Henry VIII. The endowment arose partly out of property in London, partly from the manors of "Balindone and Middeltone", partly from land in these two parishes and in Bulmere Magna, Magna Henye, and Parva Henye. The index to the *Monasticon* adds, "A part of this house is still existing": referring, no doubt, to the gateway on the western side of St. Gregory's churchyard.

"The gate, which is the only portion of the college remaining, is in a fine state of preservation : but the college, after being for many years occupied as a work-house, was pulled down in 1836, and the site used for the present Union House." So writes a local antiquary in September 1850.¹

Mr. W. W. Hodson, in the *Proceedings* of the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institution, gives a small woodcut of the church and college, showing considerable remains of the old buildings, especially of the encircling wall.² And in a later volume of the same series there is a short but interesting paper on Sudbury College and the Archbishop.³

Sudbury had also a Priory of some importance ; a few portions of the outer walls still remain.

It will have been observed that Godwin asserts that the head of the Archbishop was conveyed to Canterbury, as well as the body.

¹ *Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institution, Proceedings*, i, p. 227.

² *Ibid.*, vii, p. 363.

³ *Ibid.*, vii, pp. 23-32.

Dean Hook makes the same statement, possibly on Godwin's authority. "The head and body," he says, "were conveyed to Canterbury, where they were interred in the Cathedral, not far from the tomb of Archbishop Elphege."¹

He has previously said that "the Archbishop's head was stuck upon a long pole, and with the heads of those who had been decapitated with him, was paraded through the streets of London. To distinguish the Archbishop, his hat was nailed to his skull. It was at length fixed upon London Bridge, where it remained for six days. It was then taken down by Sir William Walworth, according to the *Political Song*, and reverently wrapped in a pall; Wat Tyler's head being afterwards substituted in its place." In support of the statement that the Archbishop's hat "was nailed to his skull", the Dean relies upon the line already cited—

Atque capellatum clavis in vertice fixis.

Ducange gives as the explanation of *capelletum*, "genus capæ seu pilei."

Henricus de Knyghton, Canonicus Leycestrensis,² or the writer known under this name, makes a statement which appears to dispose of this part of the story altogether. He has mentioned "Symon de Suthbry, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et Cancellarius Angliæ", and has given some account of the insurrection. Then he proceeds:—

Dum hæc sic agerentur, ecce degeneres filii remanentes patrem suum Archiepiscopum cum sociis antedictis, absque vi vel impetu, absque gladio vel sagitta, vel quacunque alia oppressione, set solum verbis minacibus et clamore turbido evocaverunt, et ad mortem invitaverunt, qui sponte non reclamantes tanquam agni coram tondente se nudipedes, capite discooperto, cingulis abjectis, ac si homicidio vel furto rei, et sic vindictam meriti essent, libere se morti indebite optulerunt. Et sic, heu pro dolor! duo luciferi regni indigni cum dignis antequam Rex reveniret super le TOUREHILL decollati sunt, septem in numero.

¹ Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, iv, p. 312.

² *De Eventibus Angliæ*, column 2634; printed in Twysden's *Historiæ Anglicana Scriptores decem*; fo., Lond., 1652.

If, as Knyghton says, the Archbishop came forth "capite discooperto", this incident of the nailing on of the hat seems to fall to pieces.

On a review of the various notices which have been brought forward, it seems most likely that when Sir William Walworth caused the head to be taken down from London Bridge and wrapped it reverently in a seemly pall, he may have directed that it should be conveyed at once to Sudbury, and deposited in the college which owed its very existence to the Archbishop's bounty.

If it were ever carried to Canterbury at all, of which circumstance there is scarcely a scrap of evidence, it is conceivable that the clergy of Canterbury may have presented the precious relic to the college bearing the Prelate's name.

However this may be, it may be seen to-day in the vestry of St. Gregory's Church, Sudbury, made Collegiate by the Archbishop.¹ The vestry adjoins the chancel, which was built by Simon himself.

The chancel is well developed, measuring some 62 feet in length by 21 feet in width, with lofty Perpendicular windows, and still retaining twenty stalls with their *misereres*, one of which is carved with the Prelate's cognizance, the *talbot sejant*, a charge found also in the arms of the Borough of Sudbury.²

On the north side of the chancel is a vestry, and at its western end is a niche in the wall, measuring 13 inches by 12, and about 14 or 15 inches deep. In this recess, guarded formerly by an iron grating,³ and now by a sheet of thick glass, is the head of Simon of Sudbury. The forehead is broad and massive, and the skull well preserved; portions of dried-up skin and the shrivelled ears are still adherent. There is no fracture or opening either at the top or at the sides of the skull, nor any trace of nail marks: so a local correspondent writes. It may be believed, therefore, that when the head was placed upon

¹ Where the writer of this article has seen it many times.

² *Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological Institution, Proceedings*, vol. vi, p. xlviii; vol. vii, pp. 23-32.

³ The *grille* measures 12 in. by 11; a shutter covering the glass is kept locked.

London Bridge, the pike or pole on which it was displayed was driven in at the pharynx, the part which would give easy entrance.

If there is any truth in the story of the hat having been affixed to the head, on which doubt has been already thrown, it may have been affixed to the flesh only. But apart from the evidence of Knyghton, already adduced, it would have been remarkable enough had the Archbishop retained any head-covering in the fierce *melée*, or after the repeated blows of the executioner.



Head of Archbishop Simon at Sudbury.

Below the niche is an inscription written on a sheet of parchment :—

The Head of Simon Theobald who was born at Sudbury and thence called Simon of Sudbury. He was sent, when but a Youth into fforeign Parts to Study the Civil Law. Whereof he was made Doctor. He visited most of the Universities of ffrances was made Chaplain to Pope Innocent and Auditor Rote or Judge of the Roman Court. By the Interest of this Pope he was made Chancellor of Salisbury. In the Year 1361 he

was consecrated Bishop of London, and in the Year 1375 was translated to the See of Canterbury and made Chancellor of England while he was Bishop of London he Built the upper part of St. Gregory's in Sudbury ; and where his father's House Stood he erected a College of Secular Priests and endowed it with the Yearly Revenue of one Hundred Twenty two Pounds eighteen shillings, and was at length barbarously Beheaded upon Tower Hill in London by the Rabble in Wat: Tyler's Rebellion in the Reign of Richard 2nd 1382.

It is a little curious to observe that a similar relic is found in Canterbury itself. Gostling, in his *Walk in and about the City of Canterbury*,¹ records that, at St. Dunstan's Church,

"in a vault under the family chancel of Roper here is kept a skull, said to be that of the great Sir Thomas More; it is in a niche of the wall, secured with an iron grate, though some say his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper, who lies here, desired to be buried with it in her arms. The vault, being full, was closed up not many years since."

Mr. S. Hubert Burke, in his *Historical Portraits* of the Tudor Dynasty,² writes :—

Margaret Roper was buried in S. Dunstan's Church, Canterbury. For one hundred years subsequent to her death, the leaden box containing her father's head was to be seen resting upon her coffin. In 1835, the Roper vault was examined, and a small niche, closed with an iron grating, was found in the wall above, into which the box containing the head of Sir Thomas More was removed; and I understand it still remains in the same spot.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine*³ is an interesting article upon this head, accompanied by a sketch of the barred niche in which the relic is preserved. The writer of the article went down into the crypt in 1835, when, during the re-paving of the chancel, the Roper vault was accidentally opened. The skull, he says, was then "in a niche in the wall, in a leaden box something of the

¹ Fifth edition, Canterbury, 1804.

² Second edition, vol. i, pp. 366, 367; quoting *Anecdotes of Distinguished English Catholics*.

³ May 1837, pp. 494-497. I am indebted to the Rev. G. S. Flint, of Roper House, Canterbury, for my knowledge of this article, which was written by his father.

shape of a beehive, open in the front." The vault is on the north side of the chancel. The article further states that the body of Sir Thomas More was buried in the Tower of London; the head remained about a month on London Bridge; Margaret Roper purchased the head, which was about to be thrown into the Thames. She died in 1544, nine years after her father's execution, and was buried in the family burying-place at St. Dunstan's; according to Lewis, in the preface to Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, "with her father's head in her arms, as she had desired." But Anthony-a-Wood is probably more correct when he says that in his time the leaden box did yet remain standing on the coffin of Margaret his daughter.

"Dr. [then Mr.] Rawlinson, informed Hearne, that when the vault was opened in 1715, the box was seen inclosed in an iron grate."¹

The faithful daughter preserved the head for a time, and then, "with great devotion, 'twas put into the Roper vault." The vault is now closed, and the head can no longer be seen.

In the church of the Holy Trinity, Minories,² is also preserved a head, "which the tradition of the place affirms to be that of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey, who was beheaded February 23, 1554."

The good people of Sudbury have a local tradition that the body of the murdered Prelate rests in their church of St. Gregory, beneath a large dark stone, still called the BISHOP'S STONE. John Weever, the antiquary, seems to give some countenance to the story. Here is his account of a visit to the church:—

Sudburie.—Saint Gregories.³

In this church I saw a marble stone, some foure yards long and two broad, sometimes inlayed all over with brasse; under which the inhabitants say, that *Simon Theobald, alias Sudbury*, lyeth interred; which may be true, for howsoever he hath his Tombe in the Cathedrall Church at Canterbury, of which he was

¹ *Athenæ Oxonienses*, edition of Dr. Bliss, i, p. 86.

² *London Past and Present*, Henry B. Wheatley.

³ John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, edit. 1631, p. 743.

Archbishop (as I have written before) yet that may be, perhaps, onely his Cenotaph or honorarie funerall monument.

This Simon built, whilst hee was Bishop of London, the Chappell or Vpper end of the Church, where this spacious Grauestone lies couched. As appeares by this Inscription in the glasse window :—

Orate pro Domino Symone Thepold, alias Sudbury, qui istam Capellam fundauit, Anno Domini MCCCXLV in commemoratione omnium animarum dedicat. dat. consecrat.

In the margin, Weeuer puts, “The foundation of All Soules Chappell.” It is difficult to understand the date here given. In the edition of the *Funeral Monuments* published in 1767 the date appears as 1465; but the Archbishop died, as has been already stated, in 1381. It may possibly mean that the chapel, though founded in the Prelate’s lifetime, was not consecrated till the later date.

He records that the Archbishop preached in Latin at two Synods which were held in his time; and he adds long extracts from Gower’s *Vox Clamantis*, in which the poet compares the martyrdom of Archbishop Sudbury with that of Thomas a Becket.

Weeuer adds some interesting details which may here find place.¹ Most noteworthy is a fragment of an “Epitaph composed to the memory” of the Prelate :—

Sudburie natus Simon iacet hic tumultus
Martirizatus nece pro republica stratus,
Heu scelus infernum, crux, exitiale, nefandum,
Presulis eximii corpus venerabile dandum
In rabiem Vulgi.

He is speaking about Canterbury Cathedral, so it may be presumed that the Epitaph was there to be read, and he adds, “When these hurlie burlies were at an end, the body of this good Archbishop was conveyed to his owne Church, and there honourably interred vpon the south side of the Altar of Saint *Dunstan*.” And after recounting the good works which the Archbishop carried out in his cathedral city, he records that “the Maior and the Aldermen once a yeare vsed to come solemnly to his

¹ *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 4to., London, 1631, p. 224.

Tombe to pray for his soule, in memory of this his good deed to their citie, saith *Leland* in his Commentaries." The good deed was the building of the west gate of the city.

The local tradition is further supported by Mr. J. P. Neale¹ :—

At the east end of the north aisle is the vestry, in which is still preserved the head of Simon Sudbury, who was buried here; the magnificent tomb erected to his memory in Canterbury Cathedral being only a cenotaph. The dried flesh remains upon the bones of the skull, which is placed in a grated recess, and on the falling door or flap is a parchment, with an account of the Archbishop written in an old hand.

Neale mentions "a very large stone, 13 ft. long by 6 ft. wide, with indents of brasses, but which has long been deprived of the plates," near the monument of the Rev. John Newman. It is, no doubt, the stone of which Weever's account has been already given.²

It is very easy to make so bold an assertion as this, and to speak very positively about the magnificent tomb in Canterbury Cathedral being "only a cenotaph". It is more difficult to maintain it in the face of distinct evidence to the contrary. Happily this statement can be met by a positive contradiction, resting on evidence against which there is no appeal. Thus Canon Scott Robertson writes :—

¹ Neale and Le Keux, *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain*. 4to, London, 1824.

² In Davy's *Suffolk Collections*, in the British Museum, Add. MS. 19,078, fol. 305), is the following: "7 Dec. 1727. I saw at St. Gregory's Church, in Sudbury, the head of Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was beheaded in Wat Tyler's rebellion. The under-jaw is lost, and all the teeth are plucked out of the upper. Great part of the skin is remaining upon it, with part of the eares, nose, and muscles in the nape of the neck, which are like a sponge or spongy leather. The sexton often puts in fictitious teeth, etc., which are soon pilfered (or sold by him). Tis said he built the North Aisle; near the upper end lyes a very large marble stone, 4 yds. long and 2 wide (the brasses are all off), under which tis said his body is buried, and that his head was afterwards sent from London to be repositied by it (but never was). Godwin, however, affirms that both the body and the head were carried to Canterbury, and there buried in the Cathedral.—Gough's *Sepul. Mon.*, p. lxxv. T. G. C[ullum],” T. Martin's *Ch. Notes*, vol. ii, p. 95.

There is no effigy of him, but his altar tomb is surmounted by an elaborate canopy of tabernacle work. Leland describes this monument as "a high tomb of copper and gilt." When alterations in the steps and floor caused this tomb to be accidentally opened in or about A.D. 1833, it was seen that the Archbishop's head was absent, and in its place was a ball of lead. The body was wrapped (apparently) in sere cloth.¹

Certainly the tomb is not a cenotaph. It was found in 1833 to contain the body of the Archbishop.

An engraving of the tomb will be found in Dart's *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*,² and the plan given in the same work shows its exact position on the south side of the high altar. His account of the martyrdom could scarcely be shorter than it is:—"This good man was afterwards beheaded, in the uproar of *Straw* and *Tyler*, upon *Tower-Hill* in London." But his whole memoir of the Archbishop is compressed into thirteen lines.

It is not necessary, in this place, to attempt a sketch of the life of the martyred Prelate. It is sufficient to refer to the memoir in Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*. He paints the final scene in bold outline. The old Archbishop officiating in the chapel in the Tower, that exquisite Norman chapel (which has always fascinated the writer of this article)—he communicates the King and his Court—the congregation disperses—they mount their horses in the yard below—the portcullis is raised—for some reason, carelessness, cowardice, or treason, it is not lowered—the surging, violent mob—the dignified demeanour of the Prelate, erect, "with his cross in his left hand, and a chaplain standing, with the sacrament in his right hand." The momentary check—the recovery of audacity—the tumultuous rush—the hasty exit from the Tower—the cruel death—all are painted, true to the life.

"Tanner, who gives a list of his writings (chiefly mandates, to be found in Wilkins³) speaks of him as a

¹ *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xx, p. 290. Paper on "Burial-Places of the Archbishops of Canterbury," by Canon Scott Robertson.

² Folio, London, 1726, p. 154.

³ That is in Wilkins' *Concilia*.

man of high literary attainments.¹ Perhaps his injunction for general public prayer on occasion of the pestilence is the most interesting of his compositions.”²

The Archbishop begins³ by lamenting the troublous days in which they lived, with war and pestilence on every side. He bids them fly for refuge to the Highest, and with humble hearts implore His pity.

“Oratio enim est instans præsidium, adversario incendium, angelis solatium, et Deo gratum sacrificium, multum enim valet deprecatio justi assidua.”

He reminds them that so long as Moses stood with extended hands, so long the people were victorious; and that Nineveh was saved by its timely repentance. There was need of prayer and humiliation; the magnitude of sins, the indevotion of the people, the horrors of war, the insalubrity of the atmosphere, the scarcity of fruits of the earth, all called men to prayer and supplication. He tells them of the mercy of God, Who willeth not the death of a sinner, and exhorts them to their Christian duties; the clergy, especially on Wednesdays and Fridays, are to offer up special petitions, and the laity are to join with them in one united stream of prayer.

His mandate exhibits him as a man of piety: his death as a man of courage. His piety is the source from which his courage flowed.

It is my very agreeable duty to offer sincere thanks to Mr. T. C. Partridge, of Sepulchre Street, Sudbury, from whose studio comes the excellent photograph reproduced as an illustration to this paper, for his liberality in permitting this use of his skilful work; and to my friend Mr. W. Bayly Ransom, of Sudbury, to whose local knowledge I am indebted for several details in the description of the relic, as well as for suggestions with respect to sources of information.

¹ Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, iv, p. 312.

² In 1375 he accompanied the Duke of Lancaster to Flanders, to treat of peace. (Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, i, p. 317.) The Archbishop's autograph signature is preserved at Canterbury. (*Historical MSS. Commission*, Report V, p. 430b.

³ Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, p. 100.



SHOE-LORE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., F.S.A. SCOT.

(Read 2nd August 1894.)



O the mere superficial observer there is nothing about a shoe to occasion a deeper thought than that it was designed for the protection of the foot, and yet that protection seems to enfold within itself some occult power, some magic and mysterious property which is also shared by its kindreds,—sandal, slipper, and boot.

The Irish fairies have from time immemorial been busy in the production of tiny *brogues*, and an Eastern fairy provided Cinderella with her glass slippers. Mercury's ailed sandals enabled him to float through the air, and the seven-league boots of a giant endowed him with power to perform extraordinary pedestrian feats, as recorded in the story of *Jack and his Eleven Brothers*. A shoe was the abode of the old lady who had more children than she knew what to do with; and a boot was the receptacle into which Sir John Schorn conjured the Devil; and an approved way of laying a ghost was to bury the shoes or boots of the deceased person. Those who wish to pry into futurity may gather some knowledge of their fate by the wear of their shoes. Thus says an old rhyme :

“Tread on the toe, you ’ll blithely go ;
Tread on the heel, you ’ll have good weal ;
Tread on the ball, you ’ll live to spend all.”

A variant of this rhyme, which applies alone to the fair sex, tells us,

“Wear out the toe, live to see woe ;
Wear out the side, live to be a bride ;

Wear out the ball, live to spend all ;
Wear out the heel, you 'll save a good deal."

James Mason, "Master of Artes", in the *Anatomic of Sorcerie* (4to., London, 1612, p. 90), speaks of "foredeeming of evill lucke by pulling on the shooe awry"; and to put the left shoe on the right foot has long been considered an ill omen, to which superstition allusion is made by Butler in his *Hudibras*,—

"Augustus having b' oversight
Put on his left shoe 'fore his right,
Had like to have been slain that day
By soldiers mutin'yng for pay."

There is a well-known proverbial saying that the boot is on the wrong leg when a mistake has been made or things have gone awry.

The ancient Egyptians painted on the soles of their sandals figures of captive enemies, this humiliating position indicating the hatred of the wearers to their country's foes. The Royal Psalmist declared (Ps. lx, 8) "Moab is my washpot ; over Edom will I cast out my shoe."

Sir John Sinclair, in his *Statistical Account of Scotland* (x, p. 543, 8vo., Edin., 1794), says, "We read of a King of the Isle of Man sending his shoes to his Majesty of Dublin, requiring him to carry them before his people on a high festival, or expect his vengeance. The Irish Monarch duly followed the command of the Manx Sovereign, and so saved his sept from war.

"Get under my old shoes" is a common bidding to an adversary among the Greek women of modern times. It would, therefore, appear that there was, and still is, something menacing in a shoe and sandal ; and this is further shown by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, who says, "an octogenarian of my acquaintance informs me that he heard himself thus anathematised, when, leaving his native village with his bride, he refused to comply with the extortionate demands of an Irish beggar:

" 'Then it 's bad luck goes wid yer,
For my shoe I toss ;
An ye niver come back,
'T will be no great loss.' "

But, in spite of the foregoing, the shoe, generally speaking, has been regarded as an emblem and instrument of good luck. Reginald Scot, in his *Discovery of Witchcraft* (p. 152), among other directions how "to Unbewitch the Bewitched", gives the following, "Spit into the shoe of your right foot before you put it on; and that Vairus saith is good and wholesome to do before you go into any dangerous place."

It was a common belief in many parts of England that cramp might be cured by arranging your shoes in the form of the letters V or T at the foot of the bed when retiring to rest at night; and that rheumatism could be cured by placing them in the shape of a cross by the bed's side during the hours of slumber.

A pair of shoes were formerly, and according to some are still, employed as a love-charm by girls anxious to get a sight of their future husbands on the sly. On going to bed the maiden disposes her shoes in the fashion of the letter T, and whilst so doing repeats the following rhyme,—

"I place my shoes in the form of a T,
Trusting my true love this night to see,
And learn what like my spouse will be."

This is not the only love-divination in which the shoe plays a part, for it was formerly the custom in Kent, as soon as a newly wedded couple had left the house on their honeymoon trip, for the spinsters and bachelors to be drawn up in two rows opposite each other; and when thus ordered, an old shoe was cast as far as the thrower could throw, the maidens setting off in a race after it, and she who gained the prize was believed to have the best chance of marriage before the year was out. The winner then threw the shoe for the gentlemen to scramble for, and he who secured it was regarded as the likeliest to obtain a wife within the next twelve months. Does not this old custom explain the proverb, "Win the old shoe, a husband (or wife) for you."

The shoe figures prominently and strangely in our early marriage ceremonies. In Chambers' *Book of Days* (i, 720) it is stated that "the father presented his son-in-law with one of his daughter's shoes as a token of the

transfer of authority, and the bride was made to feel the change by a blow on her head given with the shoe."

A correspondent in Hone's *Table-Book* (ii, 348) says "There is a custom prevalent in various parts of Yorkshire which I do not remember to have seen noticed in the works of Strutt, Brand, Fosbroke, or any other learned writer upon such subjects. It is called *Trashing*, which signifies pelting people with old shoes on their return from church on the wedding-day. There were certain offences which subjected the parties formerly to this disagreeable liability, such as refusing to contribute to scholars' 'potations' or other convivialities; but in process of time the reason of the thing became forgotten, and *Trashing* was indiscriminately practised among the lower orders, turf-sods or mud being substituted for lack of old shoes, and generally thrown in jest and good humour rather than in anger or ill will." This correspondent adds "that an old shoe is to this day called a *trash*."

A quaint rhyme enjoins,—

"When on marriage-day forth go,
Some one after thee must throw
Shoe that 's worn, a shoe that 's old,
Matter naught what be its mould;
Left, or right, or straight ne'er mind,
Charm in it you 're sure to find,
For from harm it keepeth free,
And good luck will bring to thee."

In the *Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*, old Gride is described as singing the following lines of a song in anticipation of his marriage with Madaline Bray,—

"Ta-ran-tan-too,
Throw the old shoe,
And may the wedding be lucky."

In every part of England the throwing an old shoe after the newly married couple, for luck, has been an honoured fashion from time out of mind, and the practice is far from obsolete in London at the present day; and if a shoe be not at hand at the required moment, a boot will do for the nonce. The writer of these notes has a

white satin boot which was taken off a lady's foot to cast after a bride in 1855. Some have contended that it is the last shoe which the maiden wore before starting for her bridal that ought to be flung after her for luck; but if this was once the rule, it is no longer observed, nor is the shoe set flying always an old one.

In Glamorganshire and other parts of Wales the custom of throwing the old shoe at weddings is still kept up; but the natives of the Principality can give no account of its origin.

Train, in his *History of the Isle of Man* (ii, 129), tells us, "On the bridegroom leaving his house it was customary to throw an old shoe after him, and in like manner an old shoe after the bride on leaving her house to proceed to church, in order to ensure good luck to each respectively; and if by stratagem either of the bride's shoes could be taken off by any spectator on her way from church, it had to be ransomed by the bridegroom."

After all that has been written respecting the practice of throwing shoes for luck at weddings, no one seems to have hit upon the origin of the ancient custom. We have seen that in olden days the bride's father gave his son-in-law one of her shoes as an emblem of authority over her, and as an instrument for her chastisement; but the question of luck does not seem to have entered into this transaction. We have also seen that the happy pair were pelted with old shoes to induce them to give refreshment to the rabble that followed the wedding party, and thus the exploit brought more or less good luck to the shoe-casters in the way of drink, but brought no benefit to either bride or bridegroom. Some fancy that the old custom of shoe-throwing is continued to our time by those who are altogether ignorant of its origin, but remember that luck is in some manner mixed up with it. It is suggested that the throwing old shoes after the freshly wedded pair may be typical of their having cast off, and for ever quitted, an old phase of existence, and entered on a new stage of life, in which all the throwers wish them good luck. Throw your old shoes away now you have put on new ones, and may good luck attend you! Such, indeed, may be the thought carried

out in the act ; but somewhat against this theory comes the fact that shoe-throwing for luck was not confined alone to weddings. In the works of John Haywoode, “newlie imprinted, 1598”, one says,—

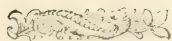
“And home agayne hitherward quicke as a bee ;
Now, for good lucke, cast an olde shooe after mee.”

And Grose, in his *Classical Dictionary*, citing Ben Jonson saying, “Would I had Kemp’s shoes to throw after you”, observes, “Perhaps Kemp was a man remarkable for his good luck or fortune; throwing an old shoe or shoes after any one going on an important business being by the vulgar deemed lucky.” It is still considered well to throw an old shoe after a person starting on a journey on a Sunday,—

“If thou travel on the Sabbath,
This precaution pray miss not
Have cast after thee an old shoe,
Lest ill-fortune be thy lot.”

In spite of all that has been said and sung about shoe-throwing, the origin of the ancient custom still remains a profound mystery, and its practice presents a somewhat tangled web of contradictions ; for whilst on the one hand to cast a shoe was an act of contempt and menace, it was in the main an expression of good will, and is in this sense alluded to by Lord Tennyson in his *Lyrical Monologue*, where he says,—

“For this thou shalt from all things seek
Marrow of mirth and laughter,
And wheresoe’er thou move, Good Luck
Shall throw her old shoe after.”





PRE-NORMAN CHURCHES IN LANCASHIRE.

BY LIEUT.-COL. H. FISHWICK, F.S.A.

(Read 31 July 1894.)



THE remains of pre-Norman churches in the county of Lancaster are very few, but the evidence of the existence of such ecclesiastical buildings is strong enough to lead one to the conclusion that before the time of Edward the Confessor the early Christians had erected places of worship in many districts in Lancashire, of which every material trace has long ago been swept away. The object of this paper is to ascertain, at least proximately, the number of these early churches, and the locality in which they were placed. To deal with the subject thoroughly it will be necessary for a moment to refer to the general history of the district so far as it bears upon the religious aspect of affairs.

In A.D. 627, Edwin, the King of Northumbria (in which what is now Lancashire was included), was converted to Christianity, and Paulinus became Bishop of York; and from this northern centre, for some half dozen years, the new religion rapidly spread; but in A.D. 633, Penda having defeated and slain Edwin, again established paganism, and no doubt soon crushed out at all events all outward show of Christianity; and it is more than probable that the few small timber-built churches then in existence were destroyed before A.D. 655, when Oswi defeated Penda, and Christianity was again restored. To celebrate the victory over the pagan ruler, Oswi established twelve religious houses, several of which were situated in Yorkshire, but not one of them was built on Lancashire soil.

In A.D. 665 Wilfrid was appointed Bishop of York, but before he took possession the consecration of Chad to the

same See had taken place. It is important to note that at this time all Northumbria was in the diocese of York, and that subsequently Chad became Bishop of Lichfield, which diocese at a later period included a large portion of the south of Lancashire. Chad died in 672, but Wilfrid lived until A.D. 709.

After the destruction of the supremacy of Northumbria in 685, the district was governed by tributary rulers, and became a great Christian centre, and doubtless many churches were now erected. Near the middle of the next century, however, treason, revolt, wars, famines, and plagues fast followed each other, and many places in Lancashire were laid waste.

In the year 827 Northumbria became part of the kingdom, and not long afterwards the Danes again got possession of Northumbria, and held it for many years; and as they were a wild, lawless set of pirates, and were endowed with a strong hatred to the new religion, it may be safely assumed that most of the primitive churches were partially, if not totally, destroyed.

Though not left in undisturbed possession, the Danish influence on this part of the country continued to be strong, and terminated in the Danish dynasty (1016-42), before which there is not wanting evidence that the Danes themselves had, to some extent, begun to tolerate, if they had not embraced, Christianity: certain it is that previous to the close of the tenth century there was an Archbishop and a Bishop of York of Danish blood; so that it is just possible that at least a few of our so-called Saxon churches may have been erected by the Danes of later date.

The great national record known as *Domesday Book* was not intended to furnish a list of churches, and might have accomplished almost all that it was compiled for without giving the names of any of the then existing ecclesiastical buildings; nevertheless it does yield very important evidence on the subject; which evidence, however, cannot be considered complete or exhaustive. The great Survey only mentions by name about a dozen churches in the entire county.

In the northern part of Lancashire (now known as

Lonsdale, north of the Sands), not a single church is named, but there is strong presumptive evidence that at Kirkby-Ireleth a pre-Norman church existed. It is only a few miles from Cartmel, which territory in 685 was given by the King of Northumbria to Cuthbert, who was then Bishop of York. It is a significant fact that the present church, which was certainly in existence in the time of Henry III, is dedicated to St. Cuthbert.

In Lonsdale, south of the Sands, *Domesday Book* mentions Church Lancaster ("Chercal-oncastre"), and by inference we may add two other churches, viz., at Tatham and Tunstall. To four manors (one of which is in Yorkshire) are said to belong three churches. Two of these manors are the places just named.

Tatham Church is situated at the north end of the Hundred, and not far from the Yorkshire border-line. At the beginning of this century there still remained an arch to the south door, which Dr. Whitaker pronounced to be of Saxon workmanship.

Tunstall is a little further to the north, and is not far from Thurland Castle, which is believed to have been held by a Saxon thane. Here was also a small Roman settlement. There are no remains of a pre-Norman church, but the names of the township afford evidence of existence of the early Saxon race. The parish is divided into Tunstall, Cantsfield, Leck, and Burrow-with-Burrow (Nether-Burrow with Over-Burrow).

The history of the town of Lancaster is such that it is no wonder that the remains of its early church have long ago disappeared. One important relic has fortunately been preserved, viz., a small stone cross which was dug up in the churchyard in 1807. It bears an inscription in Anglican runes, which may be translated, "Pray ye for Cunibalth, Cuthbert's son", and is attributed to the seventh century. It may mark the spot where the Saxon church stood, or may only be one of the preaching-crosses around which, in early times, the Christians assembled.

At Heysham, a few miles from Lancaster, the nave of the present church occupies the site of a Saxon building, of which several distinct traces still remain; and in the churchyard is a portion of a Saxon cross, and the hog-

backed stone which has been the subject of much learned controversy. All authorities, however, agree that it is of very great antiquity, and at least coeval with the introduction of Christianity in these parts.

In Halton churchyard, near Lancaster, is an elaborately carved Saxon cross, one side of which represents a Christian scene, and the other a pagan one, thus proving it to belong to what may be termed the transition period. Halton Church is dedicated to St. Wilfrid, and is, therefore, not so old as the cross referred to.

The Hundred of Amounderness is first mentioned in 705, when a portion of it, or possibly the whole, was bestowed upon the Monastery of Ripon in Yorkshire. In 930 it was given by the King to the Church of St. Peter at York, and would thus appear to have been a likely district upon which efforts to establish the Christian religion would be made by its owners; and, doubtless, some churches were here erected, every trace of which was swept away by the frequent wars which had desolated the district before the Conqueror ascended the throne.

The Domesday Book enumerates sixty-two "vils", in sixteen of which there were at that time "but few inhabitants", and the rest were waste. There were, it is distinctly stated, only three churches, which are not difficult to identify, as Preston, Kirkham, and St. Michael's-on-Wyre. The terminatives of these "vils" are interesting: one-third of them are the Saxon "tons"; amongst the rest there are four "hams", three "wicks", and four Danish "bys".

Preston is dedicated to St. Wilfred, therefore could not have been founded before the eighth century. No trace of the Saxon foundation has been preserved. Kirkham may possibly be an earlier foundation than Preston, as it is in a very large parish which is made up of no less than seventeen townships, every one of which is mentioned in *Domesday Book*. The town of Kirkham is built upon the line of a Roman road. St. Michael's-on-Wyre parish contains the townships of Rawcliffe-with-Tarnicar, Out-Rawcliffe, Great Eccleston, Elswick, Inskip, with Sowerby and Wood Plumpton; and it is strange that the church is not in the village of Great Eccleston,

but stands some distance from it. This would lead one to suppose that the present foundation was not on the site of the church after which the "ton" was called; probably the old pre-Norman church was destroyed, and a more suitable site selected for its re-erection. Saxon remains have been found in this parish.

The church of Poulton-le-Fylde is dedicated to St. Chad, and was probably a Saxon foundation. Garstang (the "cherestang" of *Domesday*) has been taken to mean "church-pool"; and if this is correct, then, notwithstanding its proximity to St. Michael's, a pre-Norman church must at one time have been built here. Brooches, axes, swords, and cinerary urns, of Saxon period, have been discovered in the parish.

In the Hundred of Blackburn only two churches are named as existing at the time of the *Domesday Survey*, St. Mary's at Whalley, and St. Mary's at Blackburn. The church at Whalley was founded at a very early date, and was at one time known as the White Church. In its burial-ground are still preserved three Saxon crosses, concerning one of which Professor G. F. Browne writes: "I know of no stone anywhere which resembles it in the remarkably bold spirals with which it is ornamented; bold alike in their design and in their relief." Ribchester Church is dedicated to St. Wilfred, and is probably of pre-Norman foundation.

In the Hundred of Leyland there were pre-Norman churches at Croston and Eccleston, both of which, in A.D. 1090, were given to the Priory of Lancaster; and probably Saxon churches existed at Leyland and Standish. The latter is dedicated to St. Wilfred, like so many Lancashire early churches.

In West Derby Hundred four churches are named in *Domesday Book*, Walton-on-the-Hill, Wigan, Winwick, and Warrington; and at Childwall a priest was stationed, who probably had some small place of worship erected. In the parish of Walton-on-the-Hill there are the two townships of Kirkdale and Kirkby, and probably in one of them was the Saxon church. The church of Winwick is dedicated to St. Oswald, and lays claim to stand on or near the site of the battle between Penda and Oswald in

A.D. 642. Here is a fragment of a Saxon cross-head which in size is only exceeded by the one in the crypt at Lastingham. The carvings upon it are of great archæological interest. It is assigned to the seventh century.

Warrington Church is dedicated to a Saint not to be found in the Roman Calendar, St. Elfin. At the time of the *Domesday Survey* it was the church of the Walintune Hundred, and had its endowment of one carucate of land. In ancient documents it is sometimes described as the "High Kirk". Close to the church was a circular mound with a flat top, measuring 60 yards in diameter, which may have been the funeral pile erected after some great battle in Saxon times.

At one other place in this Hundred there may have been a pre-Norman church, that is at Ormskirk. Although that parish is not named in *Domesday Book*, two of its ancient divisions are specified, Skelmerdale and Lathom; and the names of the others sufficiently testify to their great antiquity,—they are Bickerstaffe, Burscough, and Scarisbrick. But if the tradition be accepted, that the parish belonged to, and took its name from, a Danish proprietor called Orm, who married Alice, the sister of Herveus Walter, a Norman noble, the foundation of the church could not date before the twelfth century.

In the Hundred of Salford the *Domesday Book* only mentions two churches, both of which were in Manchester; the one dedicated to St. Mary, and the other to St. Michael; and they have so long ago disappeared that it is not now certain on what sites they originally stood. It is generally supposed that one was in Oldport, and the other in Acres Field.

The record concerning this part of the county, contained in *Domesday Book*, is meagre and unsatisfactory. Manchester, Radcliffe, and Rochdale, are the only places named; yet there were certainly other places with names of undoubted Saxon or Danish origin; for example, Prestwich, Ashton, Bolton, Flixton, and Eccles.

Rochdale, in the Confessor's time, was held by a Saxon thane called Gamel, who, as he had his castle in Castle-ton, certainly somewhere near to it had his church. The Rochdale foundation is dedicated to the Saxon Bishop, Chad.

No one can doubt but that there may have, from time to time, been built many small timber churches in various parts of Lancashire, which in the troubled times of the eighth and ninth centuries were entirely destroyed, and the earlier Christians who worshipped there driven from their settlements; but of such, at best only temporary erections, no trace has been left.

To sum up the evidence before us, it appears that north of the Ribble there were certainly eight pre-Norman churches, and possibly eleven or twelve; in the part of Lancashire between the Mersey and the Ribble we have eleven such churches named, and five others are likely to have existed. Thus in the entire county there were nineteen churches of which we have positive evidence, and eight others which are doubtful, or a possible total of twenty-seven. In a county which has sixty-nine parishes and four hundred and forty-six townships this seems a small number; but considering the nature of the times which marked the close of the Saxon and Danish periods, the small population, so frequently reduced by famine, pestilence, and wars, it may be accepted as somewhere near the actual number.

In considering this number it must not be overlooked that in the ninth century the Danes were practically in possession of Northumbria (which included Lancashire), and not until the year 954 were they finally suppressed. True it is that some few of the Danes embraced Christianity, but as a conquering race they were not likely themselves to build churches, nor to encourage others to do so; hence it is, as might be expected, that the number of pre-Norman churches is by no means large; nor do we find other evidences of so rapid a spread of Christianity in Lancashire as took place in other parts of the kingdom.





HISTORICAL NOTES OF WHALLEY ABBEY.

BY W. DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A., OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
HON. SEC.

(Read at the Manchester Congress, 1894.)



THE history of Whalley Abbey cannot be said, in spite of what all the latest editions of Whitaker's History contains about the ancient house, to have yet been written very fully, for there is much still unpublished that is worthy of elucidation. This great monastic monument owes its origin, like so many other Cistercian institutions in our country, to the removal from a site found by experience to be unsuitable and unpropitious, to one made useful to the purposes of the faith which it was founded to propagate.

The closing years of the twelfth century, A.D. 1172, a period which seems to have been particularly active with regard to the dissemination and luxuriant growth of Cistercian ideas, witnessed the foundation of the Abbey of Stanlaw, in the neighbouring county of Cheshire, by John de Lascy, the Constable of Chester and Baron of Halton. Six years appear to have elapsed before the Monastery of Stanlaw was in working order, and the date of A.D. 1178 is given in the foundation-charter, a copy of which was in the Whalley Register (which belonged to Sir Ralph Ashton) when seen by the antiquary Dugdale in 1627.

According to the foundation-deed, the house was to be of the Cistercian Order, dedicated (as most of this Order were) to the honour of the ever Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Our Lord, and suitably endowed with ample manorial revenues by the provident piety of its chief founder. The appropriate appellation of "*Locus Benedictus*" (the Habitation of the Blest) was to be

applied to a spot which was blessed indeed by the divine tutelage and mundane riches it was to enjoy.

But the inconveniences of the site had been overlooked. As time went on it was found to be low and unpleasant, inaccessible at some high states of the tide, and occasionally overflowed by the sea, which, in addition to other discomforts, made continual encroachments on the adjacent lands; consequently, application to the supreme power of the Church resulted in papal permission being granted for the removal or translation of the Abbey and Convent to Whalley, in the county of Lancashire, where a more suitable site had been bestowed upon the community by Henry de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln.

The migration took place on St. Ambrose's Day, 4th April 1296, and the new plantation of Whalley gave great offence to the adjacent Cistercian Abbey of Sawley, which drew up a list of grievances, showing that the rules of this Order relating to the too close propinquity of the houses had been infringed, and thus provisions and supplies were run up in price, so that Sawley suffered a year's damage of thirty-seven pounds ten shillings; but reconciliation was effected. Nevertheless, the buildings at Stanlaw were not absolutely demolished, for it is recorded that the original site remained as a cell, or subordinate member, to Whalley down to the dissolution of religious houses. The house at Stanlaw, however, was not of very large dimensions, and it eventually lapsed into a mere farmhouse, belonging, in the beginning of the present century, to Sir Ferdinando Poole, Bart. The Abbot had been invested with considerable dignity and importance, for he was, *virtute officii*, one of the Spiritual Barons holding under the great Earls of Chester, and having a seat in the parliament of that powerful palatine prince. Many documents relating to Stanlaw are known to exist in the Record Office, the British Museum, and other public and private depositories of ancient MSS.

Apart from the lessons that an inspection of the ruins teach us, a few interesting facts are all that remain in relation to the history of Whalley. The foundation-stone was laid on the morrow of St. Barnabas (12th June) in the above mentioned year of the translation, by the

benefactor himself, Henry de Lascy. Ten years were consumed in the work, which must have been very extensive; and at length completion was so near at hand, that on the iv Kal. May (28 April) 1306, the greater part of the Abbey and the whole precinct were solemnly consecrated by Thomas, Bishop of Galloway, or Candida Casa, by virtue of a commission for the purpose given to him by the Bishop of Chester. It is curious to notice, *en passant*, how frequently the Bishops of Galloway acted as coadjutor-Bishops in England.

Subsequent years saw the completion of the refectory and kitchen, between 1362 and 1425. The last part of the fabric of the Abbey that was constructed in accordance with the original design was in 1438. It is said that the stone with which the building was constructed was brought from the quarries of Read and Symondstone.

The Editors of the *New Monasticon* have put on record a meagre list of Abbots. Among them we may observe that very few call for notice on this occasion. For ROBERT DE HAUWORTH, A.D. 1296, see next page. ROBERT DE TOPCLIFFE, who succeeded to the abbatial dignity in 1323, made considerable additions to the estates of his Abbey. It is said that he probably retired before his death, which is recorded in 1350, because a successor, JOHN LYNDLEY, D.D., occurs in 1342. Under Lyndley's government the *Coucher Book of Whalley* was compiled. The last Abbot, JOHN PASLEW, or of Paisley, succeeded in 1506. The troubles of the times appear to have accompanied him, for he was arraigned and convicted of high treason in the early part of the year 1537, for the part he had taken in the Northern Rebellion, and was executed at Whalley, 12th March of that year. Two of his monks shared his fate at the same time.

The value of the site and manor were undoubtedly great, for in the reign of Edward VI, Richard Ashton and John Braddyll paid £2,132 : 3 : 9 for them.

The Register belongs to Earl Howe, to whom the property descended, and a synopsis of its contents is given in the *Monasticon*, where also will be found numerous references to other original records. Of these, one of the most interesting is a confirmation by royal *inspeximus*,

under privy seal of Edward III, of the grant of the perpetual advowson, right of presentation, and patronage, made in 1288 by Henry de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester, of the church of Whalley, with the chapel dependent thereon, to the Abbot and monks of Stanlaw, with the churches, lands, and privileges which had before been granted to them by John, grandfather of the then Earl, and confirmed by King Edward I. The date of this important deed is in the reign of Edward III (1334). It is now preserved in the British Museum, among the Additional Charters, No. 1060, having been purchased, in 1833, of Mr. Rodd, a dealer.

Among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum is a Chartulary of Stanlaw. It is a small octavo volume of only three quires, which probably once formed part of a more extensive book. Herein are contained, besides copies of charters, a register of the deeds belonging to the Abbey (folios 13-26), and of the yearly revenues or firme "quas recipimus per annum" (folios 27-30). It was written late in the thirteenth century, with some additions of the fourteenth century. (Egert. MS. 2,600.)

The Cottonian MS., Vespasian, D. xvii, contains at the beginning, in a handwriting of the sixteenth century, a few pages entitled "*Genealogia fundatorum Monasterii de Stanlaw et de Whalley, secundum Cronicos.*" It records the names of the monks in the institution at the time of the migration to Whalley, numbering twenty-one, followed by those who remained at Stanlaw, viz., "Robert de Hauworth, quondam abbas", and four monks (fol. 6).

The Harl. MS. 1830, contains an article entitled "*De fundatione Ecclesiæ de Whalley*", etc. (paper, seventeenth century). Herein it is stated that there were crosses in the churchyard, of stone, popularly called "*Cruces beati Augustini*", "and they still remain there, and are so called to this day." The tract, which is short, deserves to be printed, as it contains new and interesting notices of Stanlaw and Whalley. Mr. S. Andrew has recently shown, by a plan of Oldham laid before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society on the occasion of their visit to Oldham, September 1893, that the parish of Oldham was marked by seven boundary-crosses similarly wrought.

Addit. MS. 10,374 is the “Cartularium sive Liber Loci Benedicti de Whalley”, a fourteenth century MS., of small octavo size. It is described in Whitaker’s *History of Whalley*, pp. 111*-123*. Its contents supply the basis of the history of the Abbey, and in these days of appreciation of original texts well deserves publication in full, if an editor will undertake to pass it through the press.

Harley MS. 2079, fol. 67, contains some short notes upon Whalley by Randle Holme, the Cheshire antiquary. He mentions some *verses* which he found in the house of Stanlow.

The Cotton MS., Cleopatra, C. iii, contains the “Chronicon Abbatie de Stanlaw”, and “Quædam spectantia ad familiam Laceiorum”, etc., fol. 325.

Harley MS. 7017, fol. 342, consists of some “Extracta de Contentis in libro Cronicorum apud Monasterium de Whalley que monachi ibi habent de fundatoribus suis apud Stanlaw.”

In Harley MS. 2064, f. 65 *et seq.*, are comprised “Carta abbathiæ de Stanlaw ante translationem ad ecclesiam de Whalley.” R. Holme’s copies of charters and seals are at fol. 78. “Carta donorum post translationem Abbathiæ a Stanlaw ad ecclesiam Whalleie”; and at fol. 87, “A Catalogue of all the gifts and grants to the Abbey of Stanlaw, and afterward confirmed to Whalley when the Abbey was translated their.”

Harley MS. 1994, fol. 311, contains an imperfect draft of an inquest concerning Stanlaw Grange, etc., purchased by George Cotton, and sold again in the sixteenth century.

In Harl. MS. 1499, fol. 45, is a drawing of the shield of arms of Whalley Abbey, and a short note concerning the foundation.

In Harl. MS. 3868, fols. 304*b*, 305, 310, will be found charters of Whalley, and account of the celebration therein annually observed on January 17, after the death of Roger de Meuland, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, for the benefactions which he had bestowed on the Abbey, A.D. 1290, 1299. (Fifteenth century.)

Further notes by the Holmes family in Harley MS. 2060, ff. 146, 273, of late date, but should be noticed as they have hitherto escaped observation.

Addit. MS. 5726, E. I, fol. 31, states that at Whalley there was a painted portrait of Anna Macallame, a hermaphrodite.

A short note of the foundation of Stanlaw and Whalley is contained in Harley MS. 6032, f. 118b.

In Lansdowne MS. 973, p. 100, fol. 51b, is a copy of the "Redintegratio sive Consolidatio Vicariæ Ecclesiæ de Whalley ad personatum ejusdem", by Kennett, from the Registers of Wakefield.

Addit. MS. 32,481, X. 2, is a rubbing of the sepulchral brass of R. Catterall, A.D. 1515, in Whalley Abbey, made by Rev. George Rowe, Principal of the Training College, York.

Cotton MS., Titus, F. iii, art. 20, fol. 258 : "Quædam historia de abbazia de Stanlaw, quam fundavit Johannes Lacy, constabularius Cestriæ et dominus de Halton, A.D. 1172, cum catalogo abbatum."

Among the entries are the following : "8 Idus Octobris. Gilbertus——episcopus tunc suffraganeus domini Walteri Coventrensis et Lichefeldensis Episcopi, dedicavit altare majus in oratorio monasterii de Whalley in honore Beate Marie et omnium Sanctorum." The absence of the date of the year makes it difficult to ascertain who the Suffragan Bishop was. There was a Gilbert Hammensis, a Carmelite, said by Dr. Stubbs to be probably the Bishop "Hamarensis", in Norway, consecrated in A.D. 1263, who occurs in England between A.D. 1273 and 1287. Another Gilbert, Bishop of Enaghdon, in Ireland, was Suffragan of Winchester in 1313, and of Worcester in the same year. (Stubbs, p. 149.) In 1287 a storm blew down the great belfry of Stanlaw ; in 1289 the greater part of the Abbey of Stanlaw was destroyed by fire ; in 1330, on St. Gregory's Day, D. Robert Topcliffe, Abbot, and Convent began to build the new conventual church of Whalley.

The Harley MS. 280, fol. 79, states that Stanlaw Abbey was founded "*in honore Sancti Benedicti*, per Johannem Lacy", in a few notes of little importance.





OTHAM CHURCH AND PARISH.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., VICAR OF DETLING, KENT.

(Read 6th March 1895.)



THE name of this interesting manor and parish, like those of several of its neighbours, underwent many changes in early times. In *Domesday* it appears as "Oteham"; in *Testa de Neville* (two centuries later) as "Och'm"; in Archbishop Sudbury's Register, the first of the Lambeth Registers in which the name occurs, it is "Octeham"; in the subsequent Registers and charters there it is "Otteham" and "Ottham"; and eventually in its present abridged form of Otham.

Now this very variation, instead of raising a difficulty as to the probable origin of the name, seems really to suggest a plausible explanation of it. The grandfather of Ethelbert, the King of Kent, on Augustine's landing, was by the Venerable Bede¹ called Oth; by William of Malmesbury,² Octa; also by Simeon of Durham,³ Henry of Huntingdon,⁴ Matthew of Westminster,⁵ Richard of Cirencester,⁶ Ralph Higden,⁷ Thomas de Elmham,⁸ and later chroniclers, all evidently following William of Malmesbury; while Palgrave, in the *Saxon Chronicle*, adopts Occa; and Robert of Gloucester, Occe; Harris, in his *History of Kent*,⁹ introduces both forms, Occa and Octa,¹⁰ and considers Ocham and Octham as identical. So recently as the year 1449, in the will of William Crompe

¹ *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, v.

² T. D. Hardy's ed., i, 16.

³ *Symeon of Durham*, Rolls Series (from which Series all the subsequent references are given), pp. 3 and 367.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵ *Flores Historiæ*, i, 220.

⁶ *Historia de Heng*; *ib.*, p. 13.

⁷ *Polychronicon*, v, 314.

⁸ *Historia*, etc., p. 138.

^{9 10} Pp. 231 and 400.

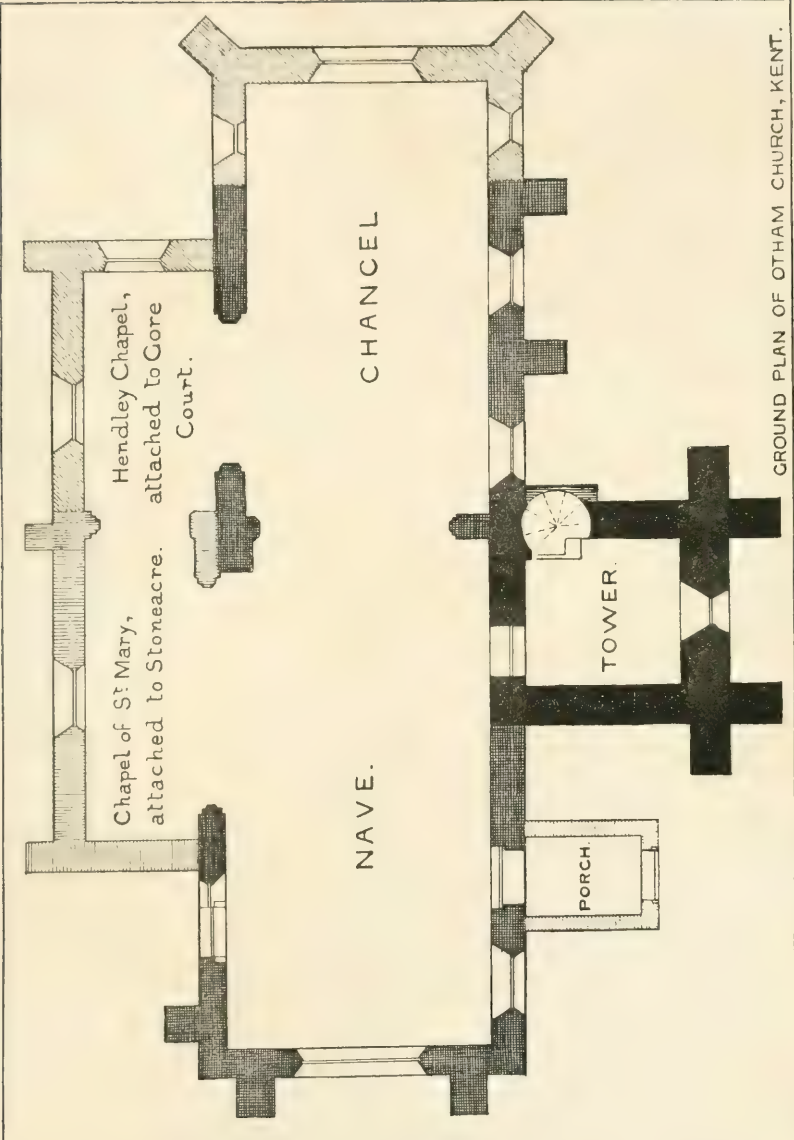
(Archdeacon's Court, Canterbury, i, 4), the name of the parish is still spelt "Oetham".

From this variation, and yet similarity, of names both of King and parish, is it not an admissible inference that the one had some connection with the other? That the parish may have been so named from being the property, and perhaps the residence, of the Saxon King? It is a coincidence, if nothing more, yet surely enough to base on it the theory, which seems to receive support, too, from the fact that at the time of the Conquest Otham was a royal manor, and as such was conferred by the Conqueror on his half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Baieux. To whom it passed after his expulsion is not so clear.

Like its neighbours, too, of Leeds and Linton, and six other churches in the county of Kent, Otham has St. Nicholas for its Patron Saint. It stands on the brow of the hill, and forms a conspicuous, and with its taper, shingle-capped tower, a picturesque object in the landscape, on the right hand side of the road between Maidstone and Ashford. A closer examination discloses many points of interest, for enough has been preserved from the hands of the modern restorer to tell its history. That a church existed here in the days of the Conqueror there is no doubt; but of that building nothing remains beyond a few fragments of Norman work built into the western end of the north wall of the nave.

Of the present structure, the oldest part is undoubtedly the tower with its small, deep-splayed lancet-windows, carrying back the mind to the earlier part of the twelfth century,—the days of the clerkly Henry I, or the troubled times of Stephen. The entrance-door was clearly on the east face, long since built up, but its outline is still to be traced. Between it and the wall of the nave is a more recent projection, belonging to the time when the rough rubble had given place to dressed stonework; the chiselled quoins, and the hollow moulded plinth, pointing rather to the reigns of the earlier Edwards. This projection was, doubtless, designed to admit a spiral newel-stair leading into the upper chamber of the tower.

The body of the church belongs rather to the later portion of the twelfth century, and originally consisted



GROUND PLAN OF OTHAM CHURCH, KENT.

of the present nave and part of the chancel. This view is suggested by the stringcourse running along the north face of the western part of the nave, and also by the trace of the jambs of a very tall Early English window still to be seen in the north wall of the chancel.

The first addition to this would seem to have been the erection of a chantry chapel on the north side of the nave. The stonework is rude and rubbly, and there is no plinth, while the piscina, in the pier which separates it from the nave, is of a very simple form. This chapel was clearly dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and was connected, as it still is by local tradition, with the Stoneacre estate. It is mentioned in the will of John Elys of Stoneacre, A.D. 1468, as being then out of repair, requiring to have the pavement and roof restored; for which purpose he leaves a sum of money, and a further sum for two stalls in the body of the church for the parishioners, and two in the Chapel of St. Mary for his wife and her servants.¹

Some years after, apparently, as the dressed masonry and the plinth suggest, a further addition was made on this side; a second chapel was built on at the east, and was connected with that of St. Mary by cutting an arch through its east end, while another arch was cut through the wall on the south, attaching it to the chancel. On the inner face of each of these arches may be traced the same mason's mark, proving that both were cut by the same workman, and, no doubt, at the same time. The two chapels thus combined now form the north aisle. This second chapel, by tradition, belongs to the Gore Court estate, and was probably erected by a Hendley. It would seem that the opening out of this arch had so reduced the length of the chancel as to render it necessary to extend it some 8 ft. further east,—an extension easily traced in the masonry of the north wall, on the outside, and also in the junction of the old and the new

¹ The words of the will (Prerogative Court, Somerset House, Godyn, 24) are as follow: "*Item volo quod duo stabella facta in Ecclesia de Otham, pro parochianis, et duo in Capella beate Marie ibidem pro uxore mea et ancillis suis et volo quod illa Capella paviatur et tegatur secundum discretionem executorum meorum.*"

in the inside of the south wall, which accounts for its being out of the right line.

Another feature of the church, of no common interest, and of considerable perplexity to antiquaries, deserves special notice. In the north wall of the nave, westward of the Chapel of St. Mary, is a rich Decorated doorway, with its graceful hood-moulding, of the early part of the fourteenth century, and slightly cusped quatrefoils in the spandrels; while along the entire width above is a range of four Decorated panels with ogee-heads; this doorway and panelling are enclosed within a corresponding moulding running along the top and down both sides to the ground. Immediately above this group of elegant Decorated work runs a light stringcourse of *tufa* of a much earlier period, corresponding with the date of the original wall; thus confirming the theory that this was an insertion brought from some other part of the church, possibly an entrance-door to one of the chapels. It seems to be too rich in detail for a north door.

The porch is the most recent addition made to the church, without a single feature to relieve its disproportion and meagreness of design. The windows, too, are such recent restorations that they give no reliable indication of date, though very fair imitations of the earlier Perpendicular period.

In the interior are brackets, or corbels, projecting from the walls, formerly no doubt used for images and lights, of which there must have been several, as appears from wills containing bequests, one by John Elys¹ (already referred to), in the year 1468, for lights to the Holy Cross, to the Virgin Mary, St. Nicholas and St. James, and for an image of St. Christopher, to be placed (*"super tabulam"*) over the table. Then forty years later (A.D. 1508), Benedicta, the widow of William Colyn "of Owleshole", bequeaths lights to the same Saints, and also the sum of "xli. to the Rode of Otham Church".²

The parish rate-books record considerable expenses incurred in repairs in the church, and especially in the

¹ Prerogative Court, Somerset House, Godyn, f. 24.

² Archdeacon's Court, Canterbury, v, 11.



DOORWAY, OTHAM CHURCH.

tower, in 1747. The church was entirely re-pewed and repaired in 1864-5.

Notwithstanding the many families of importance who have at different times found a home in this parish, the church is by no means rich in monuments. Mention is made of several as once existing here, which have now disappeared. Kilburne, writing in 1659, says, "there is, or lately was, a memorial of the interment of Constenton about 230 years since." Seymour, too, a century and a half later, repeats the same statement, probably on Kilburne's authority. Then old John Weever says that in his time (1631) the following inscriptions existed in the church: "Hic jacet Dominus Nicholas de Sandwich, qui quondam fuit Rector istius ecclesie de Ossham (*sic*), ob. 1370"; and also, "Hic jacet Johannes Elys, Arm[iger], qui obiit 18 die mensis Septembr' anno 1467: cujus anime propicietur Deus." But of none of these does a vestige now remain; nor of another, which was designed and "willed" to be placed as a monumental brass on one of the pillars of the church early in the sixteenth century (1524), which would have served as a memento of the Ascrey¹ or Astrey family, who for a short time owned Gore Court, while those now remaining refer to the subsequent owners of that estate, the Hendleys, Fludds, Buffkyns, and Hornes.

The earliest of the monuments now remaining in the church is one to the memory of Thomas Hendley, the

¹ Among the wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, at Somerset House (Bodfelde, f. 251), is that of Lady Margery Ascrey, the widow of Sir Ralph Ascrey, who died in 1524, by which she bequeaths a specified sum of money (and more if required) in the following terms: "I will and my minde is that myn executor shall se & provide a table of Coper (*sic*) as large and as brode as shall be necessary and sufficient, to be sett in a pillar within the Church of Ottam in Kent, as nygh where the body of my sonne, John Revell, lyeth buried, and in the same table to be graven an Image or Pictour as like unto the said John Revell as it may be conveniently to be doon, togedir with his armys and certain scriptures", etc. She had first married William Edwards, citizen and grocer of London, who had died in 1487; then Robert Revell, also citizen and Alderman, who had died in 1491; and lastly, Sir Ralph Astrey or Astry, Knight, and late Alderman also. It was the son of her second husband to whose memory she wished this mural brass to be placed. On this a question rises, Were brasses designed to be portraits?

first of the Corsehorne family who made his home in Otham. Of him and his marriages full particulars will be given in the account of the Manor House, which will help to explain the details of the monument. It is a small brass, evidently lying originally on the floor, but now fixed on the south wall of the chancel. It represents him kneeling at an altar-tomb or prie-dieu, his wife (no doubt the first) with her four children, two sons and two daughters, behind her, while behind him kneel two other



Brass in Otham Church.

females, the second and third wives. In the centre is a shield bearing quarterly, 1 and 4, paly, bendy, *gules* and *azure*, an orle of martlets; 2 and 3, *argent*, a saltire engrailed, *ermine*, between four roundles, on a chief *azure* a hind couchant *or*; these quarterings referring probably to the two forms in which the name once appeared, of *Hindley* as well as *Hendley*.¹ Under this is the following inscription :—

“In God is all my trust.

Here lyeth the body of Thomas Hendley, Esquier by degree,
The yongest sonne of Ieruis Hendley of Corsworne in Cranke-
brocke (*sic*), Gentleman known to be,
Who gave a house and also land, the fiftene for to pay,
And to releiue the people poore of this parisshe for aye.

The name occurs in the form of *Hindley* in a will of Johannes Hindlee in the year 1471, which accounts for the double coat, where the *hind* on the chief, in the quarterings 2 and 3, points to the name *Hindley*, and those in the 1 and 4 to the *Hendley* form.

He died the ——— day of ——— from hym that Iudas sould,
A thousand five hundreth & ninety yeres, being eightie nine
yeres ould.

Protesting often before his death, when he his faith declared,
That only by the death of Christ he hoped to be saued.

Christ is oure only saviour."

The next of the Hendley monuments, after an interval of three generations, is to the memory of John Hendley, his great-grandson, which is a massive tablet on the opposite wall of the chancel, and bears the following inscription :—

"Here resteth in Hop(e) the body of John Hendley, Esq., son of Sir Thomas Hendley of Courshorne in the Parish of Cranbrooke, Kt., who married Priscilla, the only daughter of Thomas Fludd of Goare Court in Ottham, Esq., and had by her five sons, Thomas, John, Walter, Bowyer, and William, and two daughters, Bridget and Elizabeth. Thomas, ye eldest, died ye 17th of Aprill 1678, aged 28 yeares; Walter, his third sone, died the 26th of October 1668, aged 16 yeares, and are both here interred. Hee died ye 30th of Aprill 1676, aged 59 yeares. Out of loue to whose Person and Memory the said Priscilla caused this monument to be erected, Anno Dom' 1678."

"At the upper end of this Chancell, next ye tomb, lyeth the body of Priscilla Hendley, wife of the above-named John Hendley, Esq., who died Decemb. 26, 1684. *Ætat. suæ, 58.*"

In the person of Bowyer Hendley, the son of this John and Priscilla Hendley, the wealth and influence of his ancestor Thomas, to whom the brass already noticed refers, was revived. His name is thus memorialised on a large marble monument on the north wall of the chancel chapel, now completely hidden by the organ. His grave would seem to be outside, in the churchyard, behind the monument.

"In a vault behind this marble stone lies interred the body of Bowyer Hendley, Esq., who married Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Thomas Sharpe, of Benenden in the County of Kent, gentleman, and had issue by her six sons, John, Bowyer, Thomas, John, William, and Walter; and four daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, Priscilla, and Ann. He died December 3rd, 1712, aged 87: in memory of whom his beloved relict caused this monument to be erected.

"In the same vault also lies interred ye body of Mary Hendley, relict of Bowyer Hendley, Esq., who departed this life the 18th November 1752, aged 88 years."

The last of the Hendley monuments, which is in the same chapel, is to the memory of Elizabeth, the widow

of William, a younger son of the preceding Bowyer Hendley. To her son William this testimony to a mother's worth is due :

"Ad pedem hujus marmoris conduntur reliquiae Elizabethæ Hendley, uxoris Gulielmi Hendley gen. Illa obiit xiii Calend. Nov. mdcxcvii. Reliquit filios Johannem et Gulielmum filiamq. Mariam. Neenon a tergo lapidis hujus extra murum altera jacet uxor, Margareta, quæ obiit v Nonarum Junii mdccxii. Ipsaq. reliquit Filium unicum Alabastrum. Utriusq. pietas eximia, præcipue vero Margareta, ut in libro vite nomina jam scribi fecit ita memoriam inter pios tenet & tenebit æternam.

"Gulielmus Hendley hoc monumentum posuit Anno Salutis mdccxxi."

At the foot of this tomb appears the following note :

"The above named Wm. Hendley, Gent. dy'd 24th May 1794, & was buried in ye vault with his wife Margaret, aged 67."

This clearly refers to William Hendley the son, whose wife's name was also Margaret. William Hendley, the father, had been buried in 1724.

When Thos. Hendley, in the sixteenth century, bought the Gore Court estate from Ascrey, he soon after parted with the house to Levyn Buffkyn, of whom a memorial appears in the church,—a marble monument on the south wall of the church, erected by his son Ralph, of which the inscription runs thus :

"*Memoriæ Sacrum.*

Lævinus Buffkyn de Gore Court in Ottam, apud Cantianos, armigeri (*sic*) filius

Radulphi Buffkyn ibidem Armigeri, et Anna filia Domini Johannis Gifford de

Hamsted, apud eosdem Cantianos, Equitis Aurati, marium duorum Henrici¹ et Radulphi,

Totidemq. filiarum, Catharinæ et Barbaræ, parentes, hic juxta jacent.

Lævinus pater annos natus octoginta quatuor, obiit xxiv die IXbris MDCXVII.

¹ Among the Streatfield MSS. in the British Museum (No. 37,657, 6) is a family revelation to the effect that Henry Buffkyn (Ralph's eldest son) was a spendthrift, and was so heavily involved in debt that his mother consented to sell "the Maidstone Rectory", which was part of her jointure, to pay his debts. This may account for the absence of any further mention of his name in this inscription, and for his having had no share in the erection of this monument to the memory of his parents.

Anna vero Mater tricesimum ætatis suæ annum vix aut ne vix prætergressa charissimi

Sui conjugis funus moriendo prior longissime antevertit.

Optimis hæc dulcissimisq. parentibus Radulphus Buffkyn filius eorum natu minor

Quod mærens vovit subingemiscens posuit x die VIIbris mdcxx."

Between this and the long Latin inscription given below is a flat space in which are two medallion-busts of his parents, with the family escutcheon in the centre.

"In illustre par. Lævinum atque Annam conjuges.
Epitaphica.

Artifices quorsum fingendo in corpore toto
Sudatis ? stat vultu index totius in uno ;
Hac in parte igitur quæ cælum est jussa tueri.
Nobilitate suapte merens ut sola supersit,
Vos, O par charum, Lævine atque Anna parentes,
Spectandos posuit flens vestra propago Radulphus,
Sed non sic toti extatis : fugientia marmor
Nomina vestra tenet, memori nos mente tenemus ;
Cætera virtutum testis vicinia tota :
Et testis fama est, saxo longævior omni,
Moribus egregiis cohonestans oris honores
Magnanimus, suavis, prudens, sed candidus idem,
Nullus amicorum vir amantior, omnibus æquus ;
Pacificus, bellax, et abhorrens mollia lautus,
Deditus hospitio, quod sic Deus ipse probavit,
Ut sobole et vegeto senio, cunctisque bea'rit.
Hic Lævinus erat, Lævinoque Anna marito,
Qua virtus, qua forma placet, dignissima conjux :
Ergo ut casta fides, thalamum servavit utrique
Marmor utrique unum sic laudem et nomina servat.

Extincta vitæ. Extincta vitæ."

"N.B. Anne, the wief (*sic*) of Lewin Buffkin, Esquire, was buried Dec. 30, 1580.

"Lewen (*sic*) Buffkyn, Esquire, was buried Nov. 25, 1617."

The word "vultus" clearly refers to the busts, as showing all that was distinctive and worth preserving as mementoes of the departed ; alluding, no doubt, to Ovid's lines in the *Metamorphosis* (i, 85) :

"Os homini sublime dedit, cælumq. tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

The next family to become occupants of Gore Court were the Fludds ; and of one of them, too, the church has its memorial in a massive marble monument on the

south wall of the chancel, with the following inscription:—

“Near this place resteth in hope the body of THOMAS FLUDD, Esq., of Gore Court in this parish. He was the son of Alabaster Fludd, and grandson of Thomas Fludd, Esq., who were both interred here. He married Paulina, ye daughter of John Munn, Esq., of Otteridge in ye Parish of Bersted, and had issue by her two sons and one daughter. He was buried the 10th day of July Anno Dom. 1688, aged 38 years. Thomas, his eldest son, and Paulina his daughter (who were twins), were both buried here, December ye 20th, Anno Dom. 1683, aged 5 days. Thomas, his youngest, was buried here, June ye 4th, 1689, aged one year & 7 months.

“Paulina, wife of the late Thomas Fludd, Esq., for the kind affection she had for her beloved relatives, caused this Monument to be erected.
“Memento Mori.”

“Here also lieth the Body of Pious Paulina Fludd, who departed this life the 8th of May, Anno Dom. 1722, aged 69 years.”

On a marble slab on the lower part of the south wall of the chancel is an epitaph to the memory of Bishop Horne of Norwich, being, with the exception of the third line, which refers to his connection with Otham, a copy of that in the choir of Norwich Cathedral, and of that in Eltham Church (where he was buried), that having been the residence of his father-in-law, Mr. Burton :

“Sacred to the Memory of
The Right Reverend GEORGE HORNE, D.D.
(Son of the Rev. Samuel Horne, Rector of this Parish),
Many years President of Magdalen College in Oxford,
Dean of Canterbury,
And late Bishop of Norwich ;
In whose character
Depth of learning, brightness of imagination,
Sanctity of manners, and sweetness of temper,
Were united beyond the usual lot of mortality.
With his discourses from the pulpit his hearers,
Whether of the University, the City, or the country parish,
Were edified and delighted.
His Commentary on the Psalms will continue to be
A companion to the closet
Till the devotion of earth shall end in the Hallelujahs of Heaven.
His soul having patiently suffered under such infirmities
As seemed not due to his years,
Took its flight from this vale of misery,
To the unspeakable loss of the Church of England,
And his surviving friends and admirers,
January 17, 1792, in the 62nd year of his age.”

By the side of the tablet to the memory of Bishop Horne is one to a friend who was scarcely less widely known and honoured among the lay members of the Church of that day than was Bishop Horne among its Prelates. William Stevens was the son of a sister of Samuel Horne, and therefore cousin of Bishop Horne and of William, the Rector of Otham. Kindred tastes as well as kinship brought and held together the two men. As Treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty, Mr. Stevens was ever in daily contact with the leading dignitaries of the Church, and his office made him painfully familiar with the wants of the poorer clergy, who found in him so sympathising and liberal a friend. William Jones of Nayland dedicates to him his *Life of Bishop Horne*, and describes him as "a man of singular excellence of character, and of sound learning, particularly in divinity." Several treatises on the theological questions which were then disturbing the religious mind proceeded from his pen. These, at the solicitation of his friends, he collected into a volume which, with characteristic humility, he entitled "*Ουδενος Εργα*, or the Works of Nobody"; in allusion to which his friends, after his death, formed themselves into a society which they called "Nobody's Club." The epitaph on the tablet in Otham Church thus records his worth :

"Sacred to the Memory of

WILLIAM STEVENS, Esq.,

Late of Broad Street in the City of London, Merchant,

And many years Treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty,

Whose remains by his own desire were deposited near this Church,

Which he delighted to frequent as the place of his Devotion,

And which he had repaired and adorned by his Munificence.

Educated, and during his whole life engaged in trade,

He yet found time to enrich his Mind

With English, French, Latin, Greek, and especially Hebrew Literature,

And connected by consanguinity and affection with many

Of the most distinguished Divines of his age,

He was inferior to none in profound Knowledge and steady Practice

Of the Doctrines and Discipline of the Church of England.

Austere to himself alone, charitable and indulgent towards others,

He attracted the Young by the Cheerfulness of his Temper,

The Old by the Sanctity of his Life :

And tempering instructive Admonition with inoffensive Wit,

Uniting fervent Piety towards God

With unbounded Goodwill and well-regulated Beneficence towards Men,

Illustrating his Christian Profession by his own consistent Example,
 He became the blessed means, through Divine Grace,
 Of winning many to the ways of Righteousness.
 He finished his Probation, and entered into his Rest,
 On the 7th day of February 1807,
 In the 75th year of his Age."

He was buried in what, before the enlargement of the churchyard in 1864-5, was the north-east corner, and the spot is still known, though no tombstone marks it. Is there no surviving member of "Nobody's Friends" who would be glad to do honour to his memory by placing a stone on "Nobody's" grave?

OTHAM MANOR-HOUSE.

Before we attempt to trace the history of the manor itself, it may be well to endeavour to identify, if possible, the site of the original manor-house, of which even tradition has failed to preserve for it its rightful distinction.

Among the many old houses still standing in the parish, the one which probably has the best claim to the title is that now only known as "Madam Taylor's". It is an old building, once clearly of larger proportions and more pretension, as is indicated by its goodly staircase and spacious panelled upper room; but in its reduced form serving only as tenements for labourers' families. It has, too, a large walled garden attached, retaining every sign of decayed gentility. But its very name is lost, or, rather, has given place to that of a much more recent occupant, Madam Taylor, to whom rumour, in its vagueness, has imparted a touch of romance. Of whom more presently.

Assuming then, as we may, that "Madam Taylor's" was the original Manor-house (and no other in the village seems to be so entitled to the name), what is its history? In the days of the Conqueror, *Domesday*¹ tells us that it

¹ In *Domesday* the record stands thus: "Goisfridus de Ros tenet de episcopo OTEHAM. Pro uno solin & uno jugo se defendit. Terra est II carucarum & dimidia. In dominio est una. Et IX villani cum III bordariis habent I carucam. Ibi Ecclesia. Et II servi. & I molinus de

was held by Goisfrid de Ros (Godfrey de Roos), under Odo, Bishop of Baieux. The next mention of it is in *Testa de Nerill*, a compilation of records taken from Inquisitions in the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, where it appears as being held by "Petrus de Ottenham" jointly with the heir of William de Ros.¹ This Peter, to whom the manor seems to have given the name, had a daughter named Loretta, who married William Valoynes, and thus swelled the estates and increased the influence of that family, which was at the time one of the wealthiest and most powerful in the county,—the name still preserved in that of the neighbouring parish of Sutton Valence. Surviving her husband, she divided her estates between her two sons, Walter and Robert Valoynes.² To the elder of these Otham must have passed, as his widow, Isabel, was seized of it in the year 1346, when she appears, conjointly with two co-trustees, Richard Colyn and Nicholas Sandwich, as contributing to the aid which Edward III demanded for the knight-ing of the Black Prince.³

From the Valoynes family the manor, with the advowson attached to it, passed, in the reign of Richard II, by purchase, to Sir Ralph de Frenyngham (or Farningham)

v solidis & III acræ prati . Silva VIII porcorum . T. R. E. valebat IIII libras . Quando recepit III libras . Modo IIII libras . Aluinus tenuit de Rege E." Which may be thus rendered : "Goisfrid de Ros holds Otenham of the Bishop [of Baieux]. It is rated at one suling and one yoke. There is arable land of two teams and a half. In the demesne there is one. And nine *villani* with three *bordarii* have one team. There is a church and two *servi*. One mill of five shillings and three acres of meadow. Wood of eight hogs. In the time of King Edward (the Confessor) it was worth four pounds. When he received it, three pounds. Now four pounds. Alcuin held it of King Edward."

¹ The entry is, "De Margeria de Ripariis et ipsa de Domino Rege. Petrus de Ottenham unum feodum in eadem de herede Willielmi de Ros & ipse" (f. 28, p. 214, *Kancie Com.*, f. 28); and again (f. 49, p. 219), "Will's de Ros feoda ij milit' in Lullingeston, Och'm & Lehe."

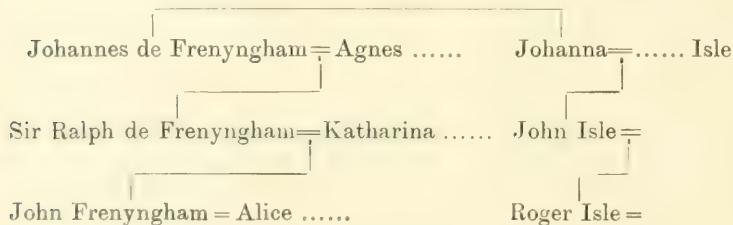
² Harris, *Hist.*, p. 231.

³ The connection of these two men is not without its interest, for Richard Colyn held a small estate in the parish, then known as Owl's Hole, afterwards Colyn's, and now Otham Court; while the name of Sandwich had a still earlier connection with Otham, from Robert Valoynes having presented Nicholas de Sandwich to the rectory in the year 1313, who, Weever says, was buried in the church.

de Lose, whose son John left it to a kinsman, John Pympe, of Pympe Court, in Loose (? Nettledst), on the condition that he endowed two chaplains (*capellanos*), one to Boxley, the other to East Farleigh, to pray for the souls of himself and his relatives; with remainder, however, on failure of male issue, to another relative, Sir John Isle, or Isley, of Sundridge.¹ It continued with the Pympe family for two generations, when John Pympe, the grandson, dying without a son, in 1411, it was conveyed, according to the terms of John de Frenyngham's bequest, to the Isleys.

The manor remained with the Isley family nearly one hundred and forty years, *i.e.*, from 1411 to 1543, when it passed by purchase to Thomas Hendle or Hendley. This brings upon the scene a family that became eventually the owners of nearly all the parish. Thomas Hendle was the younger son of Gervase (or Jervis) Hendle, Esq., whose family held Corsehorne Manor, in Cranbrook, since the days of Edward II. His elder brother, Sir Walter,

¹ The full particulars of this bequest are given in a MS. in the Surrenden Collection, preserved in the College of Arms, and alluded to in the *Historical Commissions' Report*, viii, p. 329. The transfer is thus: "Maneria, &c. Johannis de Frenyngham de Lose, Concessa Johanni Pympe Cum secundum extremam intencionem et voluntatem Johannis Frenyngham de Lose, dare et concedere intendimus, ut tenemur, Johanni de Pympe, filio Reginaldi de Pympe, Maneria nostra de Lose, Ottenham cum advocacione ecclesie, &c., &c., prefato Johanni de Pympe & heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, inveni-endo & sustendendo duos Capellanos idoneos scil. unum in Monasterio de Boxle, et alterum eorum in Estfarlegh Et si contingat predictum Johannem Pympe sine herede masculo de corpore suo legitime procreato obire, extunc omnia predicta Maneria, Avocaciones, &c., Rogero Isle consanguineo et proximo de sanguine predicti Johannis Frenyngham de Lose, scil. Idem Rogerus Isle, filius Johannis Isle, filii Johanne, sororois Johannis Frenyngham, patris Radulphi Frenyngham, patris predicti Johannis de Lose, &c., &c."



Serjeant-at-law, was appointed Solicitor to the Board of Augmentation by Henry VIII, on the resignation of Robert Southwell, a name so frequently occurring in the Suppression of the Monasteries.

Sir Walter's position gave him great facilities for obtaining from the Crown extensive estates out of the confiscated property of the suppressed houses. Leaving no son (only three daughters), a large portion of these estates fell to his younger brother Thomas, who also held the office of seneschal, or steward, over several royal manors, to wit, Maidstone, Leeds, etc., as well as private ones, like Boxley, and thus amassed considerable wealth.

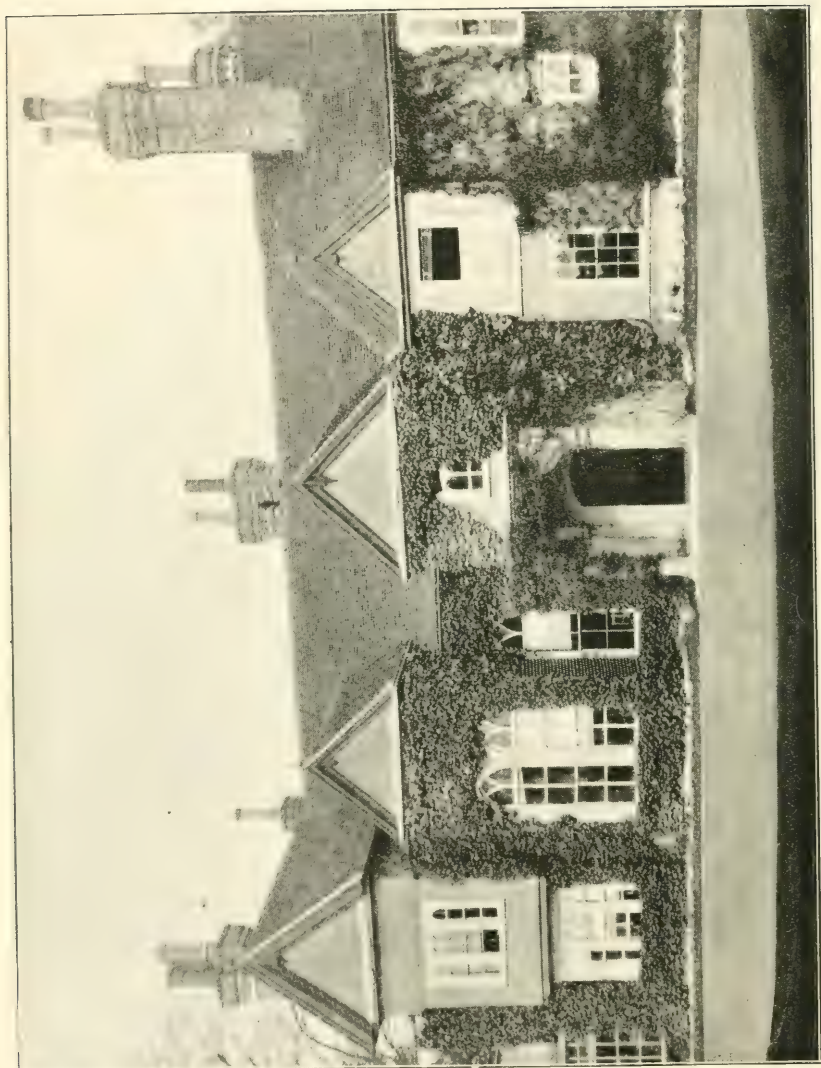
Thomas Hendley first married Eliza, widow of Thomas Ellys of Kennington, who died in 1557; in 1559 he married Johanna, daughter of John Tebold of Deal, widow of John Pawley, an influential citizen of London, who died in 1565; and thirdly, Lady Catherine Moyle, the widow of Sir Thomas Moyle, Knt., of Westwell, who had been Speaker of the House of Commons in 1541, and died in 1560. His will is at Somerset House (Mellershe, 55). He chose Otham as his residence, and in 1543 bought of William Isley the manor and advowson, which remained in the family for three hundred years. In 1550 he also bought the adjacent estate of Gore Court of Mr. Thomas Ascrey (or Astrey, or Ashway, as the name is variously spelt), who was lord of the adjoining manor of Langley. Mr. Hendle, retaining a portion of the land, sold the Gore Court House to Levyn Buffkyn, Esq. He had, in 1547, also purchased Stone House (in Maidstone, or Bearsted), and appears to have removed there in 1567, when he leased his Manor-house to Robert Baker, a farmer, of Hadlow, and never resumed it as a residence. Its history from that time would seem to have been a blank, occupied probably by a succession of tenants until in the middle of the last century it became the home of "Madam Taylor", with whose name it has been ever since associated, and that to such an extent that on a map printed by Andrews, Drury, and Herbert, in 1779, the house, with its garden well defined, was called "Mrs. Taylor's".

Thomas Hendley's eldest son, Walter Hendley the second (as he was called to distinguish him from his

uncle, Sir Walter), married Frances, daughter of Sir James Hales, the unfortunate victim of Bishop Gardner's late, who had been a fellow-Commissioner with the elder Sir Walter, his great-uncle, in the investigation of the religious houses in Kent. He predeceased his father, and left, among others, a son Thomas, who, like his father, preferred Coreshorne to Otham, as did his descendants for two generations, till his great-grandson, John Hendle, by marrying Priscilla Fludd, the heiress of Gore Court, brought back the old family name to Otham, and reunited the two estates till the one became merged into the other.

To return to the old Manor-House and "Madam Taylor", whose history is so full of romance, and over which local rumour has thrown a veil of mystery. She was the daughter of Bowyer Hendley of Gore Court, where she was born in 1693, and was buried in Otham churchyard, as the entry in the Register shows, under date "1780, October 18, Elizabeth Taylor, Widow, Daughter of Bowyer Henley, Esq., *etat.* 96." But of her intermediate life all seems a blank, beyond the village gossip of a now fast disappearing generation. Their tale is that she married (but where is not clear, no entry of it being in the Otham Register, or among the Licences at Canterbury) a Mr. Taylor, who parted from her at the church door, and whom she never saw again. It is rumoured, however, that not long before her death a young man called upon her, giving the name of Taylor, and saying he was the son of the man to whom she had gone through the ceremony of marriage. Her name appears in the parish books as having been rated for a house and land of some importance for several years in the middle of the last century. Thus mystery enveloped the house and its lonely occupant, Madam Taylor, who was chiefly known by repute among the last generation as being the "Lady Bountiful" of the village.

The history of the GORE COURT house may be more briefly told, blended as it is more than once with that of the Manor-house. As a distinct estate it is first mentioned as being owned by Richard Colyn, the friend and relative of Elizabeth, widow of Waruntius de



GORE COURT, OTHAM.

Valoignes, in the collection of the "Aid", in the reign of Edward III. Of the building which then formed the dwelling of the Colyns, from whom probably came the name of Colyn's Hole, some traces may still be detected in the thick walls and blocked-up windows in the cellars of the present house. The next name that occurs in connection with it is that of the Isles or (Isleys) of Sundridge, from whom it soon passed to the Ascreys (or Astreys or Ashways). For Lady Margery Ascrey, in her will dated 1524,¹ speaks of her late husband Sir Ralph Ascrey as being "of Gore Court". It was from her son William Ascrey that, as already mentioned, Thomas Hendley bought it in 1550. At that time it would have comprised little more than the spacious central hall, with a sleeping apartment on the south side, and a "Guest chamber". To this Hall Thomas Hendley seems to have added on the north what is now the drawing-room, for the barge-boarding of the gable outside has what was probably meant as the initials **T. H.**, and very distinctly the date 1577. Hendley sold the house to Levyn Buffkyn, a member of a Sussex family, who had recently received from the Crown the adjacent manor of Langley. He, a few years after, sold it to Nathanael Powell of Ewhurst, and he to Thomas Fludd, originally of a Shropshire family, and already owner of Milgate in the neighbouring parish of Bearsted, who had married Catherine the daughter of Levyn Buffkyn. Thomas Fludd rose to some eminence; he was knighted, and, conjointly with his father-in-law, represented Maidstone in Parliament, in 1592, and again, in conjunction with Sir John Leveson, in the years 1597 and 1601. His son Thomas was sheriff for the county in 1652. Half a century later, his great grandson, Peter Fludd, was obliged to sell the property, and found a purchaser in Bowyer Hendley, whose mother Priscilla was a daughter of Thomas Fludd. Thus the two estates again became united, and with them went the Advowson of the Rectory.

William, the eldest son of Bowyer Hendley, succeeded to the joint estates, but being pronounced by a Com-

¹ Somerset House, Bodfelde, f. 251.

mission of Lunacy incapable of managing his affairs, and leaving no son, the property passed to his sister Anne, who had married Samuel Horne, the then Rector of the parish. On the death of her grandson, William Horne, also Rector of Otham, without family, the estates passed to the descendants of a younger daughter of William Hendley, Priscilla, who had married the Rev. Richard Hammett, Rector of Clovelly in Devon; their granddaughter, Elizabeth Morrison Hammett, married (in 1838) John Townsend-Kirkwood, Esq., and to her, as sole surviving descendant of William Hendley of Gore Court, the estate passed, while the Advowson had been willed by Mrs. Maria Horne, the widow of Rev. W. Horne (as will appear in the account of the Rectors), to Magdalen College, Oxford.

Another dwelling-house of considerable importance and evident antiquity stands on a spur of the hill running to the north boundary of the parish, known by the name of "STONEACRE". In early charters of the fourteenth century it appears as *Stonekere*, and in an old map of 1779 it is called "Stonyker", of which the present form may be a corruption. Tradition assigns to the building a monastic origin, and identifies it with a Premonstratentian Priory founded by Radulphus de Dene, in a place called Otham or Ottenham; and says his daughter Ela, who married a Sackville, had it transferred to the larger Abbey of Beigham (now Bayham) in Sussex, on the complaint of the monks that the original site was very unsuited and unhealthy (*propter magnas et intolerabiles inedias loci*). The tradition may find some support in the circumstance that just below the brow of the hill on which the house stands the little river Len widens into a small pond, which is supposed to have been the "Monks' Bath", and also that the Lord of the neighbouring Manor of Thornham (Johannes de Thornham), who founded Cumbwell Priory, took part in the foundation of that at Bayham. But while the building, long since converted into a comfortable picturesque farmhouse, retains traces of having once known rather better days, it suggests a domestic rather than an ecclesiastical origin; and a careful examination

of the original Charters shows that any such claim is unfounded.¹ In them mention is made of other lands granted for the same purpose, which distinctly point to the claim of the other Otham in Hailsham, Sussex,—Seford (Seaford), Alvrecheston (Alfreiston), Dedington (Denton), and other manors included in the grants, all adjoin Hailsham. Moreover, there are several portions of “marsh-land”, conducing doubtless to its unhealthiness, spoken of as belonging to the manors, from which the Kentish Otham, rich in its hop gardens, is quite free. Then, again, a chapel is mentioned as part of the foundation; and to this day the ruins of such a building are to be found in Hailsham. Dugdale, in his account of Bayham Abbey, makes no allusion to Otham in Kent; and Horsfield, in his History of Sussex, places the Otham of the old priory unhesitatingly in Hailsham. So it seems clear that “Stoneacre” must forego all claim to the old monastery, and the name of Ela de Sackville must give place to that of Elys, whose family we know for many generations made a home here.

The most casual visitor can hardly fail to be struck by the number of houses which clearly have some pretension to bygone respectability, in what is called “Otham Street”; one turned into a blacksmith’s forge, others used as tenements for farm-labourers. Besides the old Manor-house and Gore Court and Stoneacre there are several buildings which retain evidence of having at some time been the residences of gentry; an inference which is amply confirmed by entries in the Church Registers, where occur the names of Morice, who married a Hendley, of Lambe, no doubt connected with the Sutton-Valence family to whom belonged the founder of the Grammar School there, and the historic Conduit in London which still retains his name, and of Goldwells too, a family of good repute at Chart, who gave a distinguished bishop to Norwich. Now every member of these and other families is designated “*generosus*”.

One family there is, as the Church Registers tell us, which deserves more than passing notice. Here it

¹ Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, vi.

seems Dame Jane Wyat,¹ the widow of the zealous but rash Sir Thomas Wyat the younger, who was beheaded by Queen Mary, found a home, in which, with her son George, she spent the last years of her life. What, it may be asked, brought her to Otham? The answer may be found in the fact that her son George had married a grand-daughter of Sir Thomas Moyle of Eastwell, a step-daughter of the Lady Moile who had become the third wife of Thomas Hendley, who then owned the manor of Otham, and lived at Gore Court. Now each of them must have had a local habitation as well as a name; and though it is scarcely possible now to assign to each, even by conjecture, his own homestall, yet it is not without interest to connect each with the little Kentish village.

One celebrity the parish may claim, though even that is a somewhat doubtful one; in a double sense doubtful, both as to his connection with the parish, though the name certainly suggests that, and also as to his repute. Nicholas de Occam was a Franciscan friar, living in the reigns of the First and Second Edwards. Anthony à Wood² describes him, on the authority of Bale, as a man of no mean order, "learned and beloved above his contemporaries", a distinguished Reader of Divinity at Oxford; while Shirley, in his preface to *Fusciculi Zizaniorum* (p. xlviij), calls him "the glory and reproach of his Order."

¹ The following entries in the Church Registers show that Dame Wyat and her son George lived in the parish, though tradition fails to point out any particular house they occupied. Among the baptisms: "1591, Feb. 27, Anne, d. of George Wyat, Esq.; 1594, June 4, Hawte, s. of George Wyat, Esq.; 1596, Nov. 7, Henry, s. of George Wyat, Esq.; 1601, Dec. 27, George, s. of George Wyat, Esq." Among the burials occurs that of, "1597, March 15, Madame Jane, the Lady of Thomas Wyat, deceased, Knight."

² "Seculum suum variis scriptis decoravit. Franciscanorum non modicus Doctor, imo præ aliis multis amatus." (*Hist. et Antiq. Univers. Oxon.*, lib. i, p. 74.)





Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH MARCH, 1895.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

F. CHANCELLOR, Esq., Chelmsford, was elected an Honorary Correspondent.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library :

To the Committee, for "Twelfth Annual Report of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, 1894".

To the Society, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries". Second Series. Vol. xv, No. 2.

" " for "Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archaeological Society." Vol. i, Pt. 1. 1894.

" " for "Annuaire de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles." Tome Sixième.

The following notes of recent discoveries were read :

FINDS IN AN AMERICAN TUMULUS.

BY DR. A. C. FRYER.

An hour's ride south of San Francisco, and some four miles east of Stanford University, is a pear-shaped mound of earth. The mound lies with its longer axis north and south, and measures 470 feet in length by 320 in width, and has an area of about two acres. This mound has now been examined with considerable care. It is stated that on the first day's excavation three skeletons, a number of pointed bone implements, and two large stone mortars, such as are used by the Indians for grinding corn, were discovered. One of these skeletons, we are informed, is apparently that of an old man who had been a sufferer from a terrible deformity. With the exception of the second joint in the neck there was a complete ossification of all the joints of the spinal column, and the spine was curved forward from the first lumbar, so that this unfortunate man could never have seen

the sky unless his friends had placed him on his back. The report states that the larger bone of his left forearm had been broken at some period during his life and had been reset with considerable skill. The bones were found on a bed of ashes, and were partially burnt. Not far from these bones a large stone mortar and a clam-shell were discovered. Large quantities of burnt shells of the bay oyster and crab were unearthed, as well as the bones of skunk, deer and elk.

According to the report some twenty skeletons were discovered. They were of persons of various ages. The owner of more than one had met his death in a violent manner, and a bone spear-head was found imbedded two inches in one skull. This skull had belonged to a child under fourteen years of age. Those who have examined the skulls state that they belong to a race of small intelligence. A few shell ornaments, perforated disks, and pendants showing rude efforts at ornamentation were found.

It has been ascertained that when the whites first settled the country there was an Indian village near this mound. It has been pointed out, however, that this would not necessarily indicate any connection between the Indians and the pre-historic people buried in the mound.

A paper was then read, entitled "Researches and Excavations in Argolis and other Parts of Greece." By J. S. Phené, Esq., F.S.A., LL.D., etc. This was illustrated with a large series of diagrams and drawings. A collection of specimens of ancient pottery, much of which was of archaic date, and some specimens of Greek glass and bronze were exhibited. It is hoped that it will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.

At the close of the lecture a discussion ensued, in which Professor Rupert Jones, Messrs. Lloyd, Wright, Taylor, and the Chairman took part.

WEDNESDAY, 3RD APRIL, 1895.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

A paper was read by Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Treasurer, entitled "The Excavation of a Roman Villa in the Wadfield, near Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

At the conclusion of the reading, the Chairman moved, and it was unanimously agreed, that a vote of thanks be tendered to Mrs. Dent for her liberality and public spirit in furthering the cause of Archæology by undertaking the cost of these excavations.

WEDNESDAY, 17TH APRIL, 1895.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

WM. POUND, ESQ., Martell House, Martell Road, West Dulwich, was duly elected a member of the Association.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library :

To the Society, for "*Archæologia Cambrensis*." Fifth series. No. 46.

" " for "*Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland*." Part 1. Vol. v.

To the Editor, for "*The Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist*." Vol 1. No. 2.

To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, for "*The Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*." By M. R. James, Esq., 1895. "*Proceedings of the Camb. Antiq. Soc.*," No. xxxvi.

To the Society, for "*Bulletin Historique de la Société de la Morinie*," 169, 170. Lion.

To the Smithsonian Institution, for "*Annual Report of the Board of Regents*," July, 1893.

Mrs. Dent of Sudeley Castle sent for exhibition a careful rubbing of a Spanish tile from a church in Cordova, bearing the arms of the Conde de Cabra, the captor of the famous Boabdil, the last of the Moorish kings, at the battle of Lucena, for which service King Ferdinand bestowed many honours upon the Count, and amongst others the right for himself and his descendants to bear as his arms a Moor's head crowned, with a gold chain around the neck, in a sanguine field, and with twenty banners bordering the escutcheon. These are most distinctly visible in the rubbing of the tile exhibited. This lady also submitted a large number of illustrations of encaustic tiles found at Hailes Abbey, now preserved in a pavement at Southram, others from Hailes Church, the parish church at Winchcombe, and from the ruins of Winchcombe Abbey, some being of the thirteenth, but the majority of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited some examples of Roman pottery found in High Street, Southwark, on the site of the "*Blue-eyed Maid*" publichouse, now being rebuilt. One was a portion of a mortarium bearing the word TUCE M, another, a piece of Samian ware, with the words OF PASSIE M in a circular label. He also exhibited a little book printed at Exeter in 1645, entitled "*Good Thoughts for Bad Times*", by Thos. Fuller, D.D., and a second volume "*Good Thoughts for Worse*

Times", by the same author, printed in London in 1652; the two volumes in one.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Secretary*, exhibited some fine examples of ancient chest keys, one of Norman date found many years since at Birchington in Thanet; another, of sixteenth century Italian design, was much admired. He also exhibited a very beautiful gold medal, apparently the badge of some foreign religious order, bearing on one side, in high relief, the head of the Saviour crowned with thorns, and on the other side the head of the Virgin; the chasing beautifully executed, and seemingly of French design and workmanship.

A paper was then read by Rev. H. Cart, M.A., "On a Recent Visit to Carthage," which will it is hoped find a place hereafter in the *Journal*.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, 1ST MAY 1895.

DR. J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., AND AFTERWARDS E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ.,
F.S.A., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman announced the ballot for the officers to be open, and appointed Mr. Compton and Mr. Hughes to be scrutineers.

Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., read the following letter:

"Stoke-upon-Trent, Ap. 30, 1895.

"Dear Sir,—At a meeting of my Council, held on the 25th inst., a resolution was unanimously passed that an invitation be issued to the British Archaeological Association to hold their Congress for 1895 at Stoke-upon-Trent, and that the Association be allowed the use of the Council Chamber for evening meetings during the week commencing 12th August next, and I was instructed to pass on such invitation to you as Treasurer of the Association.

"His Worship the Mayor, in addition, asks me to say that he will be pleased to receive the members of the Association on the evening of Monday, at the Town Hall, or any other evening agreeable to them.

"I propose, with his Worship and Mr. Charles Lynam to carry out the necessary details of such meeting, etc.

"I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"JNO. B. ASHWELL, Town Clerk."

This courteous invitation was unanimously adopted, and a vote of thanks rendered to the Town Council of Stoke-upon-Trent.

Mr. Rayson then read the Balance Sheet.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31st DECEMBER 1894.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank of England, 1 Jan. 1894	£118	8	10
Ditto, Post Office Savings Bank	50	13	6
Interest from P. O. Savings Bank	169	2	4
Annual subscriptions	206	17	0
Entrance-fees	7	7	0
Sale of publications	214	4	0
Proceeds of the Winchester Congress	19	8	6
	53	14	6

EXPENDITURE.

Liabilities outstanding for 1893, paid off	£175	10	10
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i>	50	0	0
Illustrations to ditto	225	10	10
Miscellaneous printing and advertising	20	11	6
Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	14	18	7
Rent and salaries	54	13	0
Stationery, postage, and incidentals	7	17	0
Balance at Bank of England, 31 Dec. 1894	90	5	1
Post Office Savings Bank	51	18	6
Less printing account unpaid	142	3	7
	91	6	9
Net balance in favour of the Association	50	16	10

£457 14 4

£457 14 5

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) CHAS. J. WILLIAMS }
CECIL T. DAVIS, } *Auditors.*

6 March 1895.

The Treasurer then read the

TREASURER'S REPORT.

"The Balance Sheet now laid on the table is a document which will require careful attention at our hands. It shows the financial position of the Association up to the close of the financial year 1894; and while there is much in it to encourage us all in our work in behalf of archaeological science, there are some elements that render a note of warning calling for our careful attention. Let us consider this note of warning first. The Balance Sheet indicates that the income of the Association during the past year has been £31 12s. 9d. less than during 1893. It is occasioned by the proceeds of the Manchester Congress, £53 14s. 6d., being less than the congress of the previous year at Winchester.

"There is a falling off in the sales of the publications of the Association, which, in 1893, was £27 8s. 8d., and in 1894 only £19 8s. 6d. The income from all sources has been £457 14s. 4d., and the Balance Sheet shows that, after providing for all liabilities to date, including the printing account then due, £91 6s. 9d., the present financial year 1895 was commenced with a surplus of £50 16s. 10d. in favour of the Association.

"The amount deposited in the Post Office Savings Bank, £51 18s. 6d., is included in the above statement.

"These figures indicate that the rule of recent years must rigidly be adhered to, namely, for our expenditure to be regulated strictly by our income, and for no one year's outlay to be at the expense of the following one. This is a safe rule, and its adherence will surely bring its reward. It is a proper rule; for since we are but custodians of the income it would obviously be unfair to cause the outlay of a greater amount than had been received.

"However, the *Journal* of the past year, the closing volume of a long series of fifty, is, like its predecessors, a goodly monument of the labours of the Association, and it is a fair subject of congratulation to think that, with so modest an amount of income, so much has been accomplished. The working expenses being so small, and as a rule more than defrayed by the proceeds of the various congresses, the bulk of the income is available for the *Journal*, and the subscriptions of the associates are returned to them by its delivery. It is a matter of gratification to find that the income derived from the subscriptions, the most important item of our revenue, does not show a falling off but rather a small increase. While the subscriptions and entrance fees in 1893 were £208 19s., in 1894 they were £214 4s. The

Council, however, has to deplore the deaths of several associates and supporters, among whom may be named Mr. Ewan Christian, the eminent surveyor of the Ecclesiastical Commission; Mr. Cokayne, our local member of Council for Derbyshire; our old friend, Mr. Gordon Hills, who for many years held the office of Honorary Treasurer, died on the 5th April, and a memoir, written by his son, will find a fitting place in our *Journal*, in recognition of many years of valued service.

"While we deplore these losses we are glad to welcome several accessions to our numbers.

"The following associates have been elected since the last annual meeting:—Messrs. J. G. Holmes, Charles Evans, Frank George, Stewart F. Wells, F. J. Horniman, Arthur S. Flower, M.A., Mrs. Charles Lambert, Mrs. Lambert, Wm. Pound.

"The Boston Public Library, Mass.

"The Hull Public Library.

"It is a matter of gratification to note the increasing number of public institutions on the roll of the associates, in whose establishments our journals will be capable of being inspected by the public.

"In addition the following honorary corresponding members have been elected:—Messrs. R. Quick, R. C. Macdonald, J. H. Nicholson, M.A.; G. C. Yates, F.S.A.; Dr. Colley Marsh, F.S.A.; W. Salt Brassington, F.S.A.; and Miss Edith Bradley.

"While it has been my duty to begin with a note of warning, it is gratifying to conclude with reference to what has been accomplished with such slender means. For the future let our efforts be not only to maintain our standard but to increase it. This can be done by an enlarged co-operation. We are associated together for one special purpose. Let us endeavour to increase the numbers of our supporters, not alone for the purposes of obtaining augmented funds, which will enable us to do more for Archaeology, but by the obtaining of information of a larger number of antiquarian discoveries, by the preparation of papers, and by the exhibition of more objects at the evening meetings.

"The first part of the new series of the *Journal* is before us, graced with its new wrapper, designed by Mr. Allan Wyon, F.S.A., whose state of health prevents his being present with us to-day. This part is a sample of a still higher standard, which I hope we shall be able to maintain and even to extend during the year.

"The arrangements for the Congress at Stoke-on-Trent are now being actively prosecuted, and, so far as can be judged by present appearances, it promises to be a meeting of special interest. The co-operation of all our members is invited to render the Congress a success."

The Report was unanimously adopted.

The thanks of the meeting were unanimously tendered to the Auditors for their services.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the

SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1894-5.

"The Hon. Secretaries have the honour of laying before the associates of the British Archaeological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, the customary Report of the Secretaries on the state of the Association during the year 1894-5.

"1. During the past year a considerable number of works have been presented to the library. The action of the Library Sub-committee will determine, or has determined, the future of this property of the Association.

"2. Thirty-seven of the more important papers which were read at the recent Congress held at Winchester, and during the progress of the session held in London, have been printed in the *Journal* for 1894, which is illustrated with thirty-six plates and wood-cuts, some of which have been wholly or in part contributed to the Association by the liberality of friends and associates, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf.

"3. The addition of the copious *Index of Archaeological Papers*, to which reference was especially made at the Annual Meeting last year, has proved attractive and useful.

"4. The Hon. Secretaries are glad to say that while they have in hand a fair amount of papers which relate to the Manchester Congress of 1894, and other papers read in London, which have been accepted by the Council or by the Editor for publication and illustration in the *Journal*, as circumstances may permit, nevertheless they desire it to be more generally known that authors should transmit their papers and drawings to the Editor as soon as convenient after being submitted to the Association, in view of their publication in due course.

"W. DE GRAY BIRCH, }
"G. PATRICK. } *Hon. Secs.*"

Mr. Brock proposed a vote of thanks to the Hon. Secretaries for their services. Carried unanimously.

Mr. C. H. Compton proposed the following additions and alterations to the rules, which were agreed to.

“(a). That in Rule 2 of Chairman of Meetings the words ‘in his absence,’ in the second line of the printed rules, be struck out.

“(b). That the first five lines of Rule 1 of the Proceedings of the Association to the end of the word ‘June’ shall be repealed, and in lieu thereof the following words shall be substituted :—‘The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the first and third Wednesdays in November, the first Wednesday in December, the third Wednesday in January, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from February to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June’.”

The usual time having expired, the Chairman closed the ballot, and the scrutators delivered the result as follows :—

President.

Vice-Presidents.

Ex officio—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G., G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGECUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; THE LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF; SIR CHARLES II. ROUSE BUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.	REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.,
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.Z.S.	F.R.I.A.
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.	J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.,
ARTHUR CATES, Esq.	F.G.S., F.R.G.S.
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.	REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.	E. M. THOMPSON, Esq., C.B., F.S.A.,
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.	D.C.L., LL.D.
SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,	SIR ALBERT WOODS, K.C.M.G., F.S.A
F.R.S., F.S.A.	(<i>Garter King of Arms</i>).
SIR A. WOLLASTON FRANKS, K.C.B.,	ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot.,
D. Litt., F.R.S., P.S.A.	F.R.G.S.
GEO. LAMBERT, Esq., F.S.A.	

Honorary Treasurer.

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, Esq., F.S.A.

Sub-Treasurer.

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

Honorary Secretaries.

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., F.S.A.
GEORGE PATRICK, Esq.

Palæographer.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, Esq., C.B., F.S.A., D.C.L., LL.D.

Council.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., A.I.C.E.	A. G. LANGDON, Esq. RICHARD LLOYD, Esq.
ALGERNON BRENT, Esq., F.R.G.S.	J. T. MOULD, Esq.
REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.	W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
A. S. FLOWER, Esq., M.A.	A. OLIVER, Esq.
J. PARK HARRISON, Esq., M.A.	W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.	R. E. WAY, Esq.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq.	BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

Auditors.

C. DAVIS, Esq.

|

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

A unanimous vote of thanks was accorded to the scrutators.

The lists of Honorary and Foreign Correspondents were adopted unanimously.

Votes of thanks were unanimously tendered to Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, *Hon. Treasurer*, and Mr. S. Rayson, *Sub-Treasurer*, for their services.

The proceedings then closed.

WEDNESDAY, 15TH MAY, 1895.

REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

His Grace the Duke of Sutherland was unanimously elected President for the forthcoming Congress and Session.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library:—

- To the Smithsonian Institution*, for Eleventh and Twelfth Annual Reports, 1889-90, 1890-1. Washington.
- „ „ for “Dakota Grammar, Text,” etc. By S. R. Riggs. Washington, 1893.
- „ „ for “Smithsonian Geographical Tables.” Prepared by R. S. Woodward. Washington, 1894.
- „ „ for “Index to the Literature of Didymium, 1842-1893.” By A. C. Langemuir, Ph.D.
- „ „ for “List of Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.” By F. W. Hodge. 1894.
- „ „ for “An Ancient Quarry in Indian Territory.” By W. H. Holmes. 1894.
- „ „ for “Bibliography of Acetic Ester and its Derivatives.” By P. H. Seymour. 1894.
- To the Society*, for “Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles.” Tome ixième. 1 Av. 1895.
- To the Author*, for “Discovery of Whitty's Wall at Jerusalem.” By Rev. J. I. Whitty, LL.D. 1895.

Miss Bradley exhibited a few remains and relics from the prehistoric village or lake-dwelling; pieces of posts for hut-making, and other objects, in illustration of her paper.

Mr. C. Davis exhibited an album of illustrations of "Brasses of Gloucestershire", upon which he is engaged in writing a treatise.

Miss Bradley read a paper entitled "The Abbey of Glastonbury", and exhibited a collection of photographs, drawings, plans, and engravings of the Abbey, the Chapel of St. Joseph, etc.

In the discussion which ensued Mr. Barrett, Mr. Rayson, Mr. Patrick, and others took part.

A cordial and unanimous vote of thanks to the authors.

WEDNESDAY, 5 JUNE 1895.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, gave an account of the proposed Congress at Stoke-on-Trent, and requested those who wish to read papers before the members at evening meetings to communicate with him without delay.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited two detached leaves from a Missal of the thirteenth century, nicely written and illuminated; a small porcelain bead, and pseudo-Samian dish, found on the site of "The Blue-Eyed Maid."

Mr. Birch exhibited a collection of casts of mediæval seals.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, on behalf of Rev. C. V. Collier, B.A., F.S.A., a box-ticket for admission to witness the trial of Lord Lovat, indicted for high treason.

Mrs. Dent, of Sudeley, sent for exhibition a further collection of coloured plates of mediæval tiles from Stanton Church, Sudeley Castle, and Winchcombe Abbey, in continuation of her former exhibition of some similar illustrations.

Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., of Newbury, sent a paper entitled "A Walk to Shirburn Castle." It was accompanied with a drawing of a Roman *cippus* of great beauty. It is hoped that the paper (which was read by Mr. Birch in the unavoidable absence of the author) will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. J. T. Irvine sent a paper entitled "Notes on some Churches in Northamptonshire", with a drawing of a capital in Wakerley Church, on which is carved a representation of the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. This, it is hoped, will be printed and illustrated in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. Barrett read a paper on "Castor Castle and Sir John Fastolf, K.G.", which was illustrated with a considerable number of drawings and views. This paper will be printed in the *Journal*.



Obituary.

MR. G. M. HILLS.

GORDON MACDONALD HILLS, the eldest surviving son of the late Captain John Hills, R.N., was born at Pegwell Bay, Kent, July 5th, 1826. The greater part of his boyhood was passed at Lancing in Sussex, where his father was stationed on the blockade service. He was preparing for a commission in the Marine Artillery, but, the expected presentation failing, an opportunity occurred of placing him with a firm of architects, and he was articled to Messrs. Elliott and Blake of Southampton. Thence, after three years, he passed to the office of Mr. Butler of Chichester, who held the post of Cathedral Architect. At Chichester, during the progress of the works carried out under Mr. Butler, Mr. Hills commenced a connection with the cathedral which lasted till his death. In 1850 Mr. Hills entered the office of Mr. R. C. Carpenter as managing assistant, and continued in that employment until about four years later he entered upon practice on his own account. At the time when the fall of the cathedral spire was imminent at Chichester, Mr. Hills acted for Mr. Slater, Mr. Carpenter's surviving partner, who was then cathedral architect, and superintended the efforts which were made up to the last moment to avert the catastrophe by the use of shoring, but it proved of no avail, and Mr. Hills was the last person within the building before the fall, and was a witness of the actual collapse. By desire of Mr. George Godwin, Mr. Hills wrote the account of the fall of Chichester Spire which appeared in the *Builder*. After Mr. Slater's death the cathedral authorities appointed Mr. Hills Surveyor of the Cathedral.

In 1871, owing to the Act passed for the Regulation of Procedure as to Ecclesiastical Dilapidations, diocesan surveyors were appointed, and Mr. Hills was successful in his candidature for appointments in the dioceses of London and Rochester. When afterwards a portion of Rochester diocese was made part of the new diocese of St. Albans, Mr. Hills continued his appointments under the altered circumstances in the three dioceses. Mr. Hills conducted a considerable professional practice, chiefly concerned with ecclesiastical buildings, churches,

parsonages, and schools, amongst these the principal works are the Cambridge Conduit, St. Saviour's Church, Everton, and All Saints', Princes Park, Liverpool; Holy Trinity, Slienna, Malta; Pinmore Church, Ayrshire; additions and restoration at the Cloisters at Chichester and some thirty Sussex churches, including Amberley, Clymping, Colgate, East Dean, Lyminster, Pulborough, Washington, and Wiston, and at various churches throughout England, those best known being Buckland, Herts; Croston, Lancashire; Folkton and Henmanby, Yorkshire; Headcorn, Leeds, and Broomfield in Kent; Packwood, Warwickshire; Rushden, Northants; making in all over seventy churches built and restored, besides vicarages, schools, and gentlemen's houses.

Mr. Hills' interest in antiquarian and ecclesiological research led him to undertake and achieve the task of actually visiting all the remains of the Ancient Round Towers of Ireland. In 1858 he read a paper on this subject before the Royal Institute of British Architects, and became an Associate of that body on the proposal of Professor Donaldson, seconded by Mr. George Godwin.

Mr. Hills became a Member of the British Archaeological Association, and first attended a Congress on the occasion of that held at Salisbury in 1858. In 1864 Mr. Hills married the youngest daughter of Mr. T. J. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.C.S., one of the founders of the British Archaeological Association, and, on his death, succeeded him in the office of Hon. Treasurer, taking a leading part in the management of the Association for many years. It was in connection with these societies that Mr. Hills made many contributions to antiquarian literature in the form of papers, amongst which are essays on Acoustic Vases, the Measurements of Ptolemy, the Cathedrals of Chichester, Durham and Hereford, Irish and Saxon Architecture, Ford, Buildwas, and Fountains Abbeys, and other monastic remains. Mr. Hills leaves valuable memoranda of his researches and the labour of many years, part of which, in the form of some of his notes on Chichester Cathedral are almost ready for publication.

During the last few years his health has been failing, and the illness which has now terminated fatally first gave serious warning in July 1891, after a long day spent at Chichester Cathedral. Mr. Hills was then advised that unless he abstained from active exertion until his health was established, another attack might follow with serious results; and he took into partnership his eldest son, who was able to relieve him of the active work of the firm.

Recently his health appeared so much improved that his friends hoped there were still some years before him in which he might see

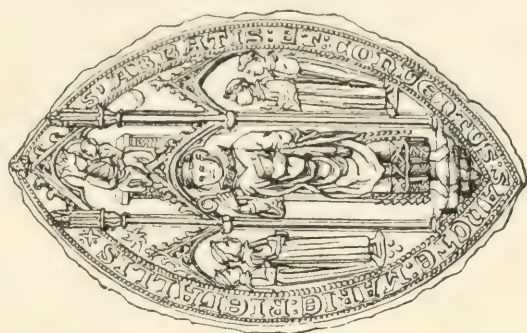
the completion of the restoration of Chichester Cathedral which had been entrusted to him. At the end of March the final illness began, from which time he sank gradually, until on April 5th he passed away without pain. His widow survives and two sons.

Antiquarian Intelligence.

Eighteen Years' Work in a Yorkshire Parish.—This is the title of a pamphlet written by the Rev. NEWTON MANT, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Hendon, giving an account of the Church work in the Parish of Helmsley, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, in which parish is situate what still remains of the beautiful Abbey of Rievaulx, the first Cistercian Monastery in the North of England, which was founded by Walter Espec, one of the heroes of the Battle of the Standard.

A historical sketch of this abbey was read at our York Congress in 1891, and is printed in the forty-eighth volume of our *Journal*.

It is specially interesting to trace from the early period in the twelfth century, when St. Bernard first came from his monastery at Cîteaux and accepted from Walter Espec the lands of Griff and Tilestona for the construction of the abbey, which he afterwards built in Blackamour, in the valley of the Rie, described by William of Newburgh as "a horrid and vast solitude", to the time when that beautiful church and the accompanying buildings were completed by the piety and energy of the monastic fraternity, and the gospel of man's salvation, with civilisation in its train, converted desolation into prosperity, and the voice of joy and gladness echoed through the waste places of the land. And it is a valuable tribute to the continuity of the Anglican Church to find that the motives which actuated the early missionaries of Christianity have not only survived those institutions which, having done their work, have given place to a truer freedom and more advanced intelligence, but have gained fresh life and vigour to cope with the ever-increasing needs of humanity in their search after truth. It is this we find exemplified in Mr. Mant's interesting account of the Vicar of Helmsley's devotion to the relief of the spiritual wants of his remote and scattered parish—wants which cannot be wholly supplied from within, but must be largely supplemented from without. The good progress which has already been made is an earnest of what should follow. Notwithstanding much which has been done, there is still much which reminds us of the old



SEALS OF RIEVAULX ABBEY, PARISH OF HELMSLEY, COUNTY YORK, NORTH RIDING.

description of Blackamore—the Solitude—though no longer vast or horrible.

There is one of the many schemes of the Vicar which commends itself specially to the archaeologist, we allude to the repair of the Canon's Garth, close to Helmsley Church, and fitting it up for the use of the two Sisters of Mercy who minister in the parish. The Canon's Garth is an old half-timbered house where the Austin Canons lived who came from the Priory of Kirkham, the first of Walter Espec's foundations, to serve Helmsley. The ancient charters of Rievaulx speak of negotiations which went on between the two houses, having for its object the incorporation of the Canons with the Cistercian monastery, but these negotiations fell through, and each institution pursued its own course until the dissolution. It would be a graceful act to preserve this relic of the old foundations, and utilise it for the purposes for which it was originally erected.

Analecta Eboracensia, or Some Remaynes of the Ancient City of York. Collected by a Citizen of York (Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt., Barrister of Gray's Inn; Recorder of York; Commissioner for the Great Seal; and Speaker of the House of Commons), will shortly be edited by the Rev. CESAR CAINE, F.R.G.S., Author of *The Martial Annals of the City of York*, of which we have given a notice in this *Journal*. It will contain many Illustrations from Old and Unpublished Drawings, MSS., and Modern Photographs. The volume will be issued only to subscribers at One Guinea, net. Names should be sent to Mr. Chas. J. Clark, 4, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.

This collection of Sir Thomas Widdrington was the first attempt to compile the history of York (about 1650). Quaint old Fuller, *English Worthies* (1662), expressed the hope that this work would be published before the death of the learned author. But thirty years after the death of Sir Thomas, Bishop Gibson, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (1695), lamented that this history of York was still in manuscript. Drake, the great historian of the city (1736), utilised the MS. of Sir Thomas, giving short selections from it, but urged that the work ought to have a separate existence. He also wrote the following certificate in the MS. :—

"This Manuscript was the work of Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt., And, as I apprehend, for several reasons which I have given in the Preface to my *Eboracum*, is the original.

"FRANCIS DRAKE, August 14, 1736."

The publication of this work was rendered difficult, for Sir Thomas

had interdicted the publication of the book because of a misunderstanding between himself and the city. Noble, *Protectoral House of Cromwell* (1787), is entirely mistaken when he says that Widdrington published his *Analecta Eboracensia* in 1660. No difficulty now stands in the way of the publication of this valuable MS. Of late years the original MS. has become the property of the nation. Active arrangements are therefore being made for the publication of the work in a form which will be a suitable memorial of the industry of the learned author. It is not too much to say that, apart from the intrinsic merits of this work, it will prove in many respects one of the most unique publications in the long list of Yorkshire Topographical books.

Our Associate Mr. A. G. LANGDON announces an early publication of his *Old Cornish Crosses*, with thirty-two plates and numerous smaller illustrations in the text, showing upwards of 320 examples, with descriptive letterpress. This will be handsomely printed in a large type on fine paper, bound in cloth extra; published price, 30s. net; offered to subscribers at 25s. net. There is also a Special Large-Paper Edition, royal 4to., printed on superfine hand-made paper, limited to fifty copies for sale, each numbered and signed by the author, price to subscribers, 50s. net.

The Crosses of Cornwall have attracted the attention of professed archaeologists because of the great number which have survived the ravages of time, and because of their peculiar shape and venerable appearance, it being impossible to go many miles in Cornwall, or enter a churchyard, without being compelled to notice monuments so different from those to be seen elsewhere. To a Cornishman the hoary, lichen-covered granite cross has been a familiar enough sight from his earliest childhood, nor is it less dear to him on this account. In the eyes of the peasantry, and even to a great extent in those of educated people, a certain amount of mystery has always surrounded these relics of the early Celtic Church. And although so little was absolutely known of their origin or significance, they claimed respect chiefly on account of their obvious antiquity and the veneration attaching to them as being memorials set up by the first Christian missionaries from Gaul to mark the progress of the new religion in what was then a pagan land.

The publication in 1858 of Mr. J. T. Blight's *Ancient Crosses and Antiquities of Cornwall*, illustrating about 120 examples, did much to dispel the ignorance with which the whole subject was surrounded, and indirectly showed the real relation of the Cornish crosses to those of a similar period in other parts of Celtic Britain. But since it was published a large number of other crosses have been brought to light

in the course of church restoration and in other ways. The progress of archaeological science has also made many of his theories, however admirable they may have been in the light of the knowledge of thirty or forty years ago, now quite out of date. No apology, therefore, is needed in announcing that a new work, entitled *Old Cornish Crosses*, is about to be brought out by Mr. Arthur G. Langdon, who has devoted many years to making a complete series of measured drawings of the monuments in question. By means of improved methods of taking rubbings, and with a knowledge of the ornament of Hiberno-Saxon MSS., it has been possible to represent correctly all the patterns which occur on the decorated crosses, a work never before attempted. Many inscriptions also are now given accurately for the first time.

It is proposed that the volume shall be quarto size ($10\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 8 in. \times 2 in.), of about 400 pages, with illustrations of the crosses to a uniform scale of half an inch to the foot, equivalent to one-twenty-fourth real size, and with accompanying descriptive letterpress dealing with the whole of the Cornish crosses at present known. The monuments will be classified so as to show their development from the rude pillar with a simple cross devoid of sculpture to the elaborately-decorated specimens of the later period. The number of crosses contained in the present work amounts to about 320. Such an undertaking as this should commend itself to everyone interested in the antiquities of Cornwall, as well as to ecclesiologists and students of Christian art generally. As only a limited number will be printed, subscribers should forward their names at once to the publisher, Mr. Joseph Pollard, 5 St. Nicholas Street, Truro.

In the *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, edited by W. P. W. PHILLIMORE, M.A., B.C.L. (124, Chancery Lane, London), now in its sixth volume, Mr. Cecil T. Davis is publishing, as a separately paged supplement, a series of illustrated articles on "The Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire." Each brass is described in detail under the following headings:—(1) An abstract of the record of the brass from the *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, by the Rev. H. Haines, M.A., part ii, 1861. (2) The position of the brass in the church. (3) Its size. (4) A description of the figure, etc. (5) The inscription, with a translation of those in Latin. (6) The tricking of any shields or coat armour. (7) The titles of works in which engravings of the brass are extant. (8) What portions, if any, of the brass are lost. (9) A brief memoir, when possible, of the person commemorated. The brasses will be described, as far as possible, in chronological order, following the data given by the Rev. H. Haines.

It is hoped to give illustrations of interesting details, including the heraldry also of portions which have now disappeared. The brasses left in this county number over eighty, which include such well-known examples as Lord Berkeley, 1392, at Wotton-under-Edge; Richard Dixon, 1438, at Cirencester. The series ranges from c. 1370 to 1636.

Peterborough Cathedral.—At a meeting of the Peterborough Cathedral Restoration Committee, on the 28th May last, an alarming Report was presented by Mr. J. L. Pearson, R.A., as to the state of the west front. Mr. Pearson expressed surprise that it resisted the recent storm, and it is absolutely necessary that its repair should be undertaken at once if its various features are to be preserved. The two main piers, he finds, lean over 2 ft. or more, and insecurity is manifest in many places. As a precaution against accidents, the architect suggests that the northernmost archway should be fenced off.





Gauntlets, 1392, Wotton-under-Edge.



Lion, 1400, Deerhurst.



Dog, c. 1400, Northleach.



THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER 1895.

GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

BY MISS EDITH BRADLEY.

(*Read 15th May 1895.*)



HERE is, perhaps, no place in the world, certainly no spot in England, worthy of being regarded with such interest and affection by English men and women as Glastonbury, the "Island Valley of Avalon." Whether we allow our imagination to wander back to the far-away dawn of the Christian era, and believe that it was St. Joseph of Arimathea who brought the Gospel message to our land, and built the first Christian church on the site of that glorious Abbey which for ten centuries was the pride and admiration of the nation, or whether we keep within the strict limits of history, Glastonbury is still unique, being, as Mr. Freeman points out, "the one church of the first rank in England which stood as a memorial of British day, the only one which had lived unscathed through the storm of English conquest, and which received equal reverence from the conquerors and from the conquered. At Canterbury, and York, and London, there is no historic tie between the vanished church of the Briton

and the church of the Englishman which still abides. A black mass of heathendom parts off the one from the other by an impassable gulf. At Glastonbury it was not so. There the old British sanctuary lived on under English rule, and fell only at the hands of destroyers of baser mould in days which, by comparison, seem as yesterday. ... Glastonbury", says the same writer, "in its ruined state, still keeps a charm which does not belong to the mother church at Canterbury or to the royal Abbey at Westminster."

To return, however, to St. Joseph. What foundation is there for the belief in his visit to our shores? Briefly this. We know that soon after the Resurrection the number of Our Lord's disciples increased daily, to the alarm and hatred of the high priests. St. Stephen's martyrdom was the commencement of a persecution which expelled the votaries of the new religion from Jerusalem, and scattered them over the Roman empire. According to Freculphus, St. Philip went to the land of the Franks. Meeting with great success in implanting the new religion, and wishing to publish the Gospel still further, in obedience to the divine command, he sent twelve disciples, with St. Joseph as their leader, to Britain.

They landed in Wales, according to the *Sanctus Graal* (a Welsh authority), but were put into prison by the King of that province; being released, they sailed up the Bristol Channel in wattle-boats until they reached a certain island surrounded by marshes, called Avalonia. This was afterwards granted to them by King Arviragus, and here they built a rude oratory of wicker-wands twisted together, with a sloping roof of straw and rushes, 60 ft. long and 20 wide,—the first Christian church in the kingdom!

The disciples themselves lived in huts and caves, and spent their time in prayer and preaching. Satisfied with the goodness of their lives, Arviragus, though a heathen, gave each one a hide of land, wet, marshy, and apparently useless; and from this first grant may be traced the great revenues of our English Church: and thus, to quote O'Dell Hill, "the Cross was planted, the Church

was founded ; and when, five centuries later, St. Augustine came to England, he found on the Isle of Avalon, at Glastonbury, a compact, renowned body of Christians dwelling there, active and prosperous." This we know to be the case, because Pope Gregory tells Augustine to treat these British bishops well, and to behave to them with that brotherly love which was the glorious distinction of the early Church.

It would take too long to trace the growth of this Christian colony in the troublous times of our early history, but through all the fluctuations of fortune it flourished, and worldly prosperity was ensured by numerous gifts of land and money from the West Saxon kings. From about 193 A.D. onwards there seems to have been a succession of twelve men engaged in serving the church, until the great reputation for sanctity acquired by them attracted, amongst many other pilgrims, the great St. Patrick himself in 430. He found the twelve monks living in separate cells around the church, and persuaded them to dwell together under one roof. Thus the Monastery was founded, and St. Patrick became its first Abbot, and ruled, it is said, for thirty years, dying at the age of 121, after having done so much to spread Christianity not only in Ireland but in many parts of England also. Under his direction the Church of St. Michael's, on Tor Hill, was rebuilt, and its strong tower remains to this day, defying alike wind and rain, and ever keeping its sentinel-watch over the "island valley" below. (The body of this church was destroyed by an earthquake at the end of the thirteenth century.)

It is still a disputed point whether St. Patrick was buried in the Abbey Church which he helped to erect, but beyond all doubt hither came King Arthur to be healed of his wounds after the battle of Camlan in 542 (according to the *Anglia Sacra*). But the sands of the mighty King's life were running out, and in a short time he died from the hurt of his grievous wound. His body was buried in strict secrecy by the monks, for fear of the Saxons, who were then everywhere gaining ground ; and this secrecy appears to have given rise to the popular belief that Arthur was not dead. All doubt, however,

was set aside when, in the twelfth century, Henry II, having heard from the Welsh bards that Arthur and Guinevere were buried at Glastonbury, ordered Abbot Henry de Soliac to search for the remains. From Giraldus Cambrensis, who was present, a full account of the discovery can be gleaned.

Having dug down some depth, the monks came upon a large leaden cross lying upon a stone, and bearing an inscription, "*Hic jacet sepultus Inclytus Rex Arthurus in insula Avaloniæ cum Guinevera uxore sua secunda.*" The slab was removed, and a stone coffin discovered containing the bones of the Queen. Her lovely golden hair still shrouded her form, but fell into dust on exposure to the air. Digging further, the monks came across what appeared to be a solid oak-tree. This, on being opened, contained the bones of Arthur. He must have been a gigantic man, for his shin-bone, when placed against the leg of the tallest man present, reached above his knee three finger-lengths, says Giraldus; and on his skull, also very large, more than ten wounds could be counted. These precious remains were collected by Abbot Henry, and placed in a splendid mausoleum within the church itself, where it rested until Edward I and Queen Eleanor visited the shrine. Edward ordered the bones of his predecessors to be uncovered, that he might see them himself, after which he and Eleanor gave rich shrouds to Arthur and Guinevere, and their remains were replaced, and moved before the high altar.

Century after century Glastonbury grew more famous and prosperous. Kings delighted to honour this first home of the faith, and made magnificent gifts of money and lands. Men of distinguished learning and piety ruled in almost regal state within the Abbey precincts. Of these but few can be mentioned here. In the sixth century Paulinus, the famous Archbishop of York, lived there many years, teaching the new Benedictine rule. To Ina, King of the West Saxons, the Abbey owed much of its vitality and wealth, for he granted a charter and many hides of land, besides building a splendid church east of the three which had arisen previously. This was richly decorated with gold and silver. The altar, it is

said, contained 264 lbs. weight of gold. All the sacred vessels were of this precious metal. The covers of the Books of the Gospel were bound in 20 lbs. weight of gold. The figures of Our Lord, St. Mary, and the Apostles, were of solid gold, and the altar-cloth and priestly vestments were interwoven with gold and precious stones. Truly a royal gift from such a royal person as this old English King, who towards the close of his life renounced all his glory, and went to Rome with Ethelburga, his wife, to live in retirement under the Benedictine rule.

The name of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, the master-spirit of his age, and greatest statesman and priest of his day, is ever associated with Glastonbury because his boyhood was spent there, and to it he returned as Abbot, by the appointment of Athelstan's son, Edmund, after several years of Court life, in which he took a leading part. Dunstan may be regarded as the founder of monasticism in England, and his own Abbey came to be regarded as a model for other establishments.

Amongst the Norman Abbots may be mentioned Henry of Blois, nephew of Henry I, who did much for his Abbey. He is said to have built the bell-tower, chapter-house, lavatory, refectory, the great gateway, and other monastic additions; so that before the disastrous fire of 1184, which destroyed the whole of the Monastery except one chamber and chapel, the church begun by Ina must have been an imposing edifice.

Fortunately at this crisis royal help was at hand, and the second Henry granted a charter to the monks, in which he himself says, "I have determined to repair it (the church), to be completed either by myself or my heirs, by the will of God"; and the magnificent structure arose, the ruins of which fill us, in this nineteenth century, with deep awe and admiration, mingled with the most bitter regret and indignation that such a masterpiece of design and exquisite detail should have been wantonly destroyed to gratify the rapacity of a King whose name will ever be associated with one of the blackest pages of our history.

An arched passage from the High Street of Glaston-

bury, nearly opposite the Tribunal, leads the tourist to a walled garden (once part of the Monastery). The payment of 6*d.* gives the right to pass through a gate, and enter the hallowed spot. Green grass and waving trees, beautiful spring sunshine filling the air, and, above all, the glorious ruins, make a picture never to be forgotten; the very atmosphere seems full of associations, and the place peopled by the spirits of that long train of pious and noble men who lived and worked here. Look where you will, even on the carved stones lying about on the ground, the same exquisite care for the minutest detail is everywhere apparent.

The first thing to strike one is the chapel, dedicated both to St. Mary and St. Joseph. It was built on the site of the very first church, already alluded to, and as a work of art perhaps had no rival. Three of the walls still remain, "and on the north and south are four windows, mullioned, and rising loftily nearly to the vaulting, with semicircular heads." Between these windows the walls were richly decorated; even now glimpses of colour may be seen here and there. Each corner was surmounted by a square turret, up which ran a winding staircase to a passage between the walls. The floor has disappeared, and left bare the arches of a fifteenth century crypt which was used as a burial-place. William of Malmesbury says of this crypt, "Here are preserved the human remains of many saints, nor is there any space in the building that is free of their ashes. Rightly, therefore, is it called the heavenly sanctuary on earth, of so large a number of saints it is the repository." Within this, on the south side, is the Holy Well, whose healing waters brought so many thousands of pilgrims to Avalon. A beautifully carved arch still protects the mouth of this Well, the workmanship of which will repay any one a careful examination.

The north door is a splendid example of Norman work, with very elaborate carvings upon the recessed arches.

The great church was built to the east of St. Joseph's Chapel, but the two were eventually united by a galilee and broad flight of steps leading up to the west door. A magnificent nave with north and south aisles, transepts,

bell-tower, chapels, and chancel, completed the building, which, with St. Joseph's Chapel, measured, from east to west, 528 ft. The nave and choir had a double line of arches supported by highly ornamental pillars, a triforium and clerestory, and the great tower was supported by four magnificent Gothic arches, 100 ft. high, which for proportion and grandeur seem to stand unrivalled. A portion of one only remains, and from it we can form some judgment of the general effect. Four chapels occupied places in the north and south transepts, and in each were altars richly covered, and windows filled with stained glass, beautiful to behold. Exquisite carving and ornament everywhere adorn the walls and pillars, upon which the workman has laboured with that great love for his art so characteristic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Of the monastic buildings little remains except the quaint Abbot's kitchen, built entirely of stone (about 1340 or 1380), where provision for four hundred or five hundred guests could be made, as each of the four fire-places was large enough to roast an ox; and the kitchen itself $33\frac{1}{2}$ ft. square within, and 72 ft. high to the top of the lantern.

There is also a fragment of the almonry, interesting because it contains a flight of steps, on the topmost one of which the almoner stood to dispense relief to the poor and sick, who thronged the building twice a week.

Time flies, and forbids me to linger any more over this fascinating subject, the interest of which is inexhaustible. I will, therefore, conclude with a brief reference to the last two Abbots who so worthily ended that long line of noble prelates who for centuries wore the mitre, and until 1154 ranked as first in the kingdom.

Richard Beere, who died on Jan. 20th, 1524, was one of the most splendid and distinguished men since Dunstan. He was the friend and emissary to Rome of Henry VII, patron of learned men, amongst whom was Erasmus. He did much church-restoration work throughout the country, to which his monogram,¹ R.B., and

¹ The best monogram of Beere is to be seen at the Lepers' Hospital, Taunton,

perennial rebus, "jugs of beer", bear testimony. The Women's Almshouses at one of the entrances to the Abbey were built by him, in 1512, for six or seven women of good repute.

It is, however, around the memory of Richard Whiting that our love and admiration will most fondly linger: he who had grown up from a boy within the Abbey, and who, from filling the humble office of chamberlain, was chosen by Cardinal Wolsey to become the mitred Abbot of one of the richest monasteries in the kingdom; to sit in the House of Peers, robed and mitred, with the honour of conferring knighthood; whose residence was a palace, with four manor-houses, parks, gardens, and fisheries; whose attendance at high functions numbered one hundred followers, all sons of noblemen; who entertained as many as five hundred guests at once; who dispensed relief to the poor every Wednesday and Friday out of his own charity; who educated three hundred youths of high birth in the school attached to the Monastery; and whose library filled Leland with astonishment.

Then came the order for the dissolution of the greater monasteries, and in September 1539 this man, great in every sense of the word, worthy, and beloved by all within his wide jurisdiction, was seized by the minions of Cromwell on a charge of treason (though the Commissioners admit that they could find no cause of complaint against the Abbot or his Monastery), taken to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, "being but a weak man and sickly".

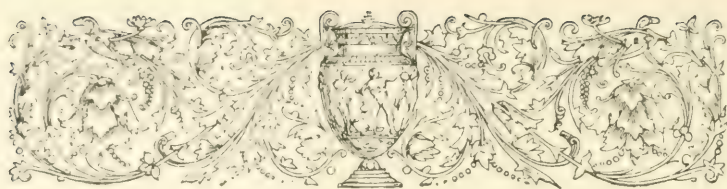
On November 14th, 1539, a form of trial took place at Wells (whither the old man had been conveyed), at once brutal and unjust, for Whiting had not been allowed to have advice, or even prepare his own defence. In point of fact, the end must have been determined long before, as amongst Cromwell's private correspondence a note has been found as follows: "Mem. The Abbot of Glastonbury to be tried at Glaston, and also to be executed there, with his accomplices."

With the refinement of cruelty he was taken from Wells to Glastonbury, drawn through the town on a hurdle, and hanged on Tor Hill, within full view of the

place he had loved so well, and amidst a vast crowd of mourners, whose descendants to this day speak of him as "the murdered Abbot". Not content with this brutality, Whiting's head was struck from his body almost before he was dead, and his body quartered and sent to Wells, Bath, Bristol, and Bridgewater. The head itself was placed over the gateway of his own Abbey: and this occurred, not in the dark ages, but at the end of the sixteenth century, by the knowledge and sanction of a man styling himself "Defender of the Faith"!

Once more among the ruins hallowed by this long line of associations, one wonders whether the scepticism and indifference of future generations will permit even what now remains to decay still further, or whether once more there will come a burst of religious enthusiasm which will rebuild the "waste places", and revive yet again, on this very spot, the dead embers of a grand Anglican, Catholic cathedral.





ROMAN MANCHESTER,
AND
THE ROADS TO AND FROM IT.

BY THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, LL.D.

(*Read at the Manchester Congress, 31 July 1894.*)



HERE is not the slightest doubt that Manchester had a Roman origin ; a portion of Roman walling exists even yet under one of the arches of the Altrincham Railway Viaduct, in the south-western portion of the city, and there is abundant evidence that in the seventeenth century the outline of the fosse and rampart was yet perfectly distinct. Moreover, numerous relics of the remarkable people who possessed and ruled this country seventeen hundred years ago have been discovered on the site, and some of them are still to be seen in the Earl of Ellesmere's collection at Worsley Hall, and in the Mayer Museum at Liverpool. I have heard also of some in the hands of gentlemen still, or, at any rate, till recently, residing in Manchester.

There is also, fortunately, hardly the shadow of a doubt as to the Roman name of the fortress and town. It must have been Mancunium. It is singular that many of the Roman names of fortresses and towns in Great Britain have come down to us under two or even more forms. Glanibanta and Glanoventa, Vinovia and Vinovium, Mancunium and Manucium, are instances. In all such cases the possibility of the names applying to two or more distinct places must always be borne in mind. In some cases it is probable they do apply to different

places ; but in the case of Manchester it seems almost certain that both Mancunium and Manucium belong to the city in which we now are. Both words are British. Mancunium signifies "rock top"; Manucium signifies "high rock" or "high stone". This latter term might be applied to a lofty standing stone, erected in earlier ages upon the spot on which the Roman fortress afterwards was placed. Mamucium, another form which is found, cannot, I think, properly belong to Manchester. Mamucium signifies "high mother", and probably designated a much loftier height.

Some years ago I made a pilgrimage to Manchester to see whether the Roman station really had rested upon a "rock top". I found it had done so. Some sewerage works were being executed in the part of the town that once had been covered with Roman buildings, and there the substratum of the street was being quarried to admit the culvert. The surface also was higher than the district around.

I believe the modern Welsh call Manchester, in their own tongue, Manceinion, thus making its name bear quite another meaning ; for Manceinion, as far as I can make out, has nothing to do with rock, stone, or summit, but signifies a "place of jewellery or ornaments". Possibly, in mediæval times, Manchester might have, in Wales, something of the reputation of London, whose streets were popularly believed to be paved with gold, when as yet, I fear, they had, for the most part, but little pavement of any kind.

With regard to the roads to and from Mancunium, two of the most important of Roman ways passed through it ; that is, if Manucium and Mancunium are one. These two roads are known as the Second Iter and the Tenth Iter of Antoninus. They were military highways, streets, roads paved, that is, from end to end.

There must have been, and as a matter of fact we know there were, several other roads starting from or passing through Mancunium, of almost equal size and of similar character, which looked, probably, in the immediate neighbourhood of Manchester, as of almost equal importance with the first named two. Remains of several

such roads have been investigated near Manchester since antiquaries began to observe such things, and it becomes, in consequence, a matter of some difficulty to distinguish between those recorded in Antoninus and the others.

Another circumstance which adds to the difficulty of identification is the fact that all the great Roman centres of population or fortification in Great Britain have not by any means been yet accurately or indisputably localised. For instance, the position of Mediolanum, a very important centre in connection with our present subject, has not been absolutely ascertained. One would have thought that its true site would long ago have been decided; but it has not been so; and I doubt whether its true position will ever be fixed beyond cavil, unless some happy accident lead to a discovery of extensive remains on some spot hitherto unthought of, or all but unthought of. Yet it seems a matter of no great difficulty to indicate, within a few miles, an area within which it must have stood, for it was thirty-six miles from Mancunium, and twenty-three miles from Uriconium. Taking a map and a pair of compasses, and sweeping out circles at those respective distances from the centres named, it is seen that Mediolanum must have been, if the figures quoted have come down to us correctly from Roman times, somewhere between Malpas in Cheshire and Woore in Shropshire, or not very far north or south of a line joining those two places.

An effort has often been made to arrive at a decision as to the exact length of the Roman mile; but hitherto, I think, without complete success. Many antiquaries have concluded that the Roman mile was about nine-tenths of an English mile. As far as I can judge, however, it seems to have been longer rather than shorter than the English mile. I have here a map of the neighbourhood around Manchester, made from the Ordnance Map, on the reduced scale of half an inch to the mile. On this Map, as any one can test for himself, the distance between Wroxeter and Manchester, "as the crow flies", is fifty-nine miles. In the Second Iter of Antoninus the distance between Uriconium and Mancunium is precisely the same: hence the Roman mile cannot have been less

than the English mile, since the distance, in an absolutely straight line, is precisely the same as that given in the Itinerary as the measurement along the road. More over, it is manifest that Mediolanum cannot have been far from the straight line joining those two stations.

The district I have named above, between Malpas and Woore (particularly the western portion of it), abounds in Roman remains. Roman remains have been found at Malpas itself, at Whitchurch, at Pan Castle (near Whitchurch), at Bickley (where the very important diploma was found in 1812), and at other spots. Mediolanum, however, lies probably completely buried. Let it not be thought that such a thing is impossible. The fine, extensive, and rich Roman station at the mouth of the Tyne was, previous to five and twenty years ago, entirely obliterated. There were no signs of rampart, or fosse, or street: all was level; and for a long period no Roman relic, beyond an odd coin or two, had been discovered there. And this had taken place, not because the site had been for generations built upon, for it was a farm in tillage. Wheat-fields waved over the deserted streets and halls and forum, and hedges ran across ramparts and fosse, without a suspicion occurring to any one of any irregularity of contour beneath.

So now, in all probability, it is with Mediolanum, and its exact position may never be brought to light. Moreover, it was probably a station of very considerable size, and possibly had no great encircling wall like Verulam and Silchester. Uriconium was a large Roman city, covering far more than the site of the present village of Wroxeter, yet I believe no portion of encircling rampart remained above ground. There is a grand fragment of a temple or other large building still extant, but no portion of a mason-built rampart that I remember. Near Audlem, in the district I have named above, is a farm bearing the suggestive title of "Brick Wall." I remember journeying there once; but I could get no information as to whence the farm derived its name, nor did I discover any ancient fragment. If any such existed above ground when the farm acquired its name, it had not only disappeared, but the remembrance of it appeared also to have perished.

There are many other names, however, in the immediate neighbourhood of a suggestive character. The name Audlem, just mentioned, seems to point to the "old, smooth" highway, the Roman road. Then there are New Hall, Bromhall, Old Hall, Cool Lane, Cool Pilate, Cool Hall, Stanford Bridge, Lodmore Lane, Grimley Green, Royals Green, and New Town, all within the circuit of a mile or two.

There is more to be said about Mediolanum, but for a few moments we will turn to another station closely connected with Mancunium. Half way between Mancunium and Mediolanum was Condas, distant eighteen Roman miles from each of them. If we describe a circle on the Map at that distance from Mancunium, it will pass close to Castle Northwich, which is not very far from the straight line joining Mancunium and Uriconium. Condas can hardly have been anywhere else than there. Abundant Roman remains have been found at Castle Northwich, and over a considerable area around, and the contour of the ground exactly suits the name; for Condas evidently means "conical heap", a good designation for the hill on which Castle Northwich stands. Moreover, I am not aware that there has ever been any castle there except the Roman fortress.

I am aware that the late Mr. Thompson Watkin, for whom I entertained great regard, and whose labours on behalf of Roman archæology deserve unstinted praise, contended stoutly for Kinderton as the site of Condas; but I cannot see that Kinderton is possible. No doubt Kinderton is a Roman site. Roman relics have been found there, and accounts of visible traces of fosse and vallum, and Roman roads converging upon it, have come down to us; and marked remains of a Roman road pointing directly to Wilderspool, near Warrington (likewise a Roman station), exist still, and are known as Kind or King Street. But a glance at the Map will show that Kinderton will not suit the distances. Mr. Thompson Watkin contended likewise that Chesterton, in Staffordshire, was Mediolanum; but this, too, is impossible. Chesterton is far beyond the twenty-three mile circle from Uriconium, though it is within the thirty-six mile circle from Mancunium.

A circle drawn at the distance of eighteen miles from Castle Northwich strikes the circle drawn at twenty-three miles distance from Uriconium a mile or two to the west of Audlem, near New Hall and Kingworth Green.

It has been thought that the first four letters of the name Kinderton are a corruption of the name Condas; but the names do not appear to have any connection with each other. I have already given the meaning of Condas in the British language, namely, "a conical heap", or a sugar-loaf hill. Kinder, in the same language, means "dog-water", that is, "otter-water", and suggests to us that probably in early days otters were peculiarly abundant in the Dane and Croco rivers, which bounded the site of the Roman station of those days, of the Kinderton Hall and Manor of later times. The "ton", of course, was a Saxon termination, added by Saxon lords to the name by which the place was known to the natives whom the new conquerors, when they arrived, found upon the spot.

Condas, besides being eighteen miles from Mancunium, was twenty miles from Deva. Northwich is not quite so far from Chester in a direct line; but there is evidence that the Roman road from Northwich to Chester, through Delamere Forest, was not a straight one, and this probably accounts for the extra distance.

To turn now to other considerations with regard to Mediolanum. The road we have been thus far considering is not the only one from Mediolanum to Mancunium. We have particulars given to us of a circuitous one by Deva, that is Chester. By that road the distance is sixty-eight miles, whereas by the direct road it is only thirty-six miles. For purposes of comparison I will give the two roads as they are given in Antoninus. The first is a portion of his Iter 2; the second, of his Iter 10.

ITER 2.

Manucium to Condas	.	.	.	.	18 miles
Condas to Deva	.	.	.	.	20 "
Deva to Bovium	.	.	.	.	10 "
Bovium to Mediolanum	.	.	.	.	20 "

In all 68 "

ITER 10.

Mancunium to Condas	.	.	.	.	18 miles
Condas to Mediolanum	.	.	.	.	18 „
					—
In all					36 „

It is plain from this that Condas, Deva, Bovium, and Mediolanum, must form the angles of an irregular quadrilateral figure. It ought not, therefore, to be a matter of overwhelming difficulty to find two of them if we have been able already to determine the other two.

Now with regard to Deva there is absolutely no question. All antiquaries are entirely agreed that it cannot be any other place than Chester. With regard to Condas, considerations we have already discussed seem to point decisively to Castle Northwich.

If, then, we describe a circle at the distance of ten miles from Chester, and another at the distance of eighteen miles from Castle Northwich, Bovium should lie somewhere near the circumference of the first, and Mediolanum somewhere near the circumference of the second, with a distance of twenty miles between them.

Having done this, Caergwrle appears to be the only likely place for Bovium. It is an undoubted Roman site in Flintshire, ten miles, by modern road, from Chester, though less in a direct line; but I believe a perfectly straight road from Chester to Caergwrle is quite out of the question. A circle described with Caergwrle for centre, and distance twenty miles, strikes the circles from Condas and Uriconium a little west of the spot where they strike each other, affording a remarkable confirmation of the conclusion already come to, that the site of Mediolanum must be sought to the west, but at no very great distance to the west, of Audlem or Newhall.

The only place that seems able at all to compete against Caergwrle for the site of Bovium, on the score of correctness of distance, is Holt or Farndon, one opposite the other, on the banks of the Dee. But if Bovium be at either of those places, Mediolanum would be thrown to the east of Audlem, and the distances from Condas and Uriconium would be increased. If the road from Holt, eastward, were very crooked in Roman times, that

might absorb the distance ; but that is a conjecture one would not make unless upon stronger grounds than can be adduced in this case, as far, at any rate, as I am aware.

Bangor Iscoed, where, it is said, extensive Roman remains have been found, has been thought by many to be Bovium, but it is several miles beyond the ten-mile circle from Chester. The good Roman road running south from Chester, by Aldford and Farndon, or Holt, naturally makes one desirous to find Bovium upon it. There is a spot marked Castle Town, at the right distance from Chester, but I do not know that anything Roman has been found there. If Bovium were really situated at or near Bangor Iscoed, the effect of the distance upon the position of Mediolanum would be much the same as if Bovium were at Farndon or Holt. The name Bovium appears to signify, in British, "muddy water" or "foul water". I do not know whether there is any stream in the neighbourhood of either Caergwrle or Holt which at the present day deserves such an appellation. There is, however, near Malpas, a Dirtwich, anciently called Fulwich (signifying, no doubt, "Foul Wich"). Singular to say, this stream empties itself into the Dee at a point about midway between the two present day villages of Bangor and Iscoed. As it nears the Dee, a Broughton and a Worthenbury stand upon its banks.

Mediolanum appears to signify "centre of trackways", and was probably a British town before it was a Roman one. It reminds one forcibly of the modern Crewe, which is undoubtedly at no great distance from its ancient prototype, wheresoever the exact site of Mediolanum may be ultimately found to be. I have often been struck by the tendency of modern railway engineers unconsciously to tread in the footsteps of their mighty Roman predecessors.

The Tenth Iter of Antoninus ends at Mediolanum, the Second passes through Mediolanum to London and Richborough. We have seen that between Northwich and Manchester they coalesce ; that is, if Mancunium and Manucium be one and the same place. It may be asked,

however, Is it absolutely necessary to consider them one and the same place ? Or, if they were not really one and the same place, where could Manucium possibly be ? To this I should reply that it could be at or near Stockport, where Roman remains have been found, and to which a Roman road ran from Mancunium.

Supposing, however, Mancunium and Manucium to be the same, the Second and Tenth Iters coalesce throughout the eighteen miles from Condas to Mancunium. From the latter station, it seems to me, they either coalesce again for a number of miles, or lie very close to each other. I am bound to say, however, that many antiquaries have taken a widely different view from this.

Many antiquaries have held that the Tenth Iter, which has travelled to Mancunium from Mediolanum in a north-easterly direction, at Mancunium takes a westerly course, and goes either to Wigan, and thence to Ribchester, or else to Ribchester direct. There were, undoubtedly, good Roman roads in each of those directions, remains of which, though every year becoming scantier, still exist ; and Ribchester was a notable Roman station, which has yielded abundant and very important remains. But, for my own part, I do not think the Tenth Iter went to either of those towns. I believe the magnificent Roman Way over Blackstone Edge (which is to be visited by the Association on Saturday next) is the identical road ; and I believe that the Roman station at Slack, usually thought to be Cambodunum, is in reality Coccium. It is at the right distance from Manchester, and the colour of the soil (an orange or tawny red) agrees with the name, which can only belong to a spot where the soil or rock is of that colour. Cambodunum, on the other hand, must be a height with an encircling valley, and answers better to Greetland, where, according to Camden, a remarkable Roman altar was found, or to the Castle Hill at Almondbury. Either Greetland or Almondbury suits the distance of Cambodunum from Calcaria (almost universally placed at Tadcaster) better than Slack.

Our elder antiquaries placed Cambodunum at Almondbury ; but when Slack was explored, some twenty or twenty-five years ago, it was at once settled that it must

be Cambodunum; the fact that Coccium had not been located, and was waiting identification, being apparently quite forgotten. I should say that Antoninus gives the distance of Coccium from Mancunium as seventeen miles, and the distance of Cambodunum from Manucium as eighteen miles.

I will only say farther, with regard to this matter, that if Coccium is held to be at Slack, the Tenth Iter must go on to the sea, at the mouth of the Tyne; but if Wigan be Coccium, and Ribchester be Bremetonacæ, it must go on to the Western Sea, and its terminus in that case must, I think, be located at Ellenboro, near Maryport, where was a notable Roman station, which was explored to a considerable extent some years ago. Mr. J. B. Bailey, of Maryport, advocated its claims to be the northern terminus of the Tenth Iter, at that time, in an able manner. The Roman name of the terminating station northwards was Glanoventa or Glannibanta, each of which appellations signifies "the brink of the height", and shows clearly that the station must be sought on a commanding eminence. This condition is fulfilled by the Roman station near Maryport, and also by each of the Roman stations which existed at the mouth of the Tyne, namely, the one near Tynemouth and the one near South Shields.

If Slack be Coccium, and the Roman road over Blackstone Edge be the Tenth Iter, its course from Manchester appears to have been by Street Fold in Moston, Street Bridge in Chadderton, Street Gate in Ryton, the eastern side of Rochdale, the eastern part of Littleboro, Baitings, etc.; and if Almondbury be Cambodunum, the course of the Second Iter from Manchester would be by Ardwick, Stanley Barn, Ancoats Lane, Newton Heath, Failsworth, Honey Well Lane, Glodwick, Austerlands, Castleshaw, where was a Roman station, etc. Remains of both these roads, if difficult of discovery now, were noted and recorded by the antiquaries of earlier days.

I believe I have now touched upon all the Roman roads to and from Manchester that are known to have existed. There may have been others of which no remains have come to light. Those I have spoken of are,

on the north side, the roads to Wigan, to Ribchester direct, to Blackstone Edge, and to Castle Shaw; on the south side, the roads to Stockport and to Northwich. I will only say, in conclusion, that I cannot expect all persons who have thought upon these matters to agree with me in all that I have advanced. At the same time I trust you will not think the views I have brought before you altogether unworthy of being taken into account, in future discussions on the subject of my paper: "Roman Manchester, and the Roads to and from It."





RECENT VISIT TO CARTHAGE.

BY REV. H. CART, M.A.

(Read 17th April 1895.)



SOME of you, I fear, may wish that my visit to Carthage had been more recent, it having taken place in the month of February 1893 ; yet I have not heard, in the meantime, of any very notable discoveries in that region ; therefore we may take it, I think, that, for the most part, Carthage of February 1893 is but little different from Carthage of April 1895.

I think, first of all, I will briefly describe my manner of reaching Carthage, not because the itinerary is in any sense a model one, but it may suggest a pleasant journeying to a site world-famous in classic lore.

When I left England I had not the slightest idea of ever going anywhere near Carthage, and it was only after a week's sojourn in the delightful hill-country outside Algiers that I conceived the plan of travelling along the north coast of Africa in a railway-train to Tunis. It will hardly be credited when I tell you that I had to postpone the date of my departure on account of the line being rendered impassable by snow-drifts ; but, once started, I shall never forget the agony of that railway journey ! I think a hansom cab, were the direction a little less mountainous, would get over the ground more quickly. To reach Tunis in a day's journey from Algiers is a thing the contemplation of which would upset altogether the orderly working of the Oriental mind, and I found that even to get to Constantine, which is a sort of "half-way house", would be a journey of about nineteen hours ; so the first night we found shelter at a little country place named Bouira, and after being duly regaled at the inn

with roast panther and other delicacies, we betook ourselves, by an outside staircase, to sleeping apartments which, if moderately clean, were certainly not *fin de siècle* in arrangements or appointments. Murray's *Guide* (from which I shall often quote) says, under the head of "Bouira", "Hotel d'Europe,—comfortable." It is *kind* of Murray; but ideas of comfort vary, do they not, so very much? The pampered Englishman of to-day does not thankfully put up with the rude hospitality enjoyed and courted by his forefathers. However, all little shortcomings were amply atoned for by a very beautiful sunrise on the distant mountains, which I duly "kodaked". You will pardon the Americanism. I think it is not strictly archæological.

The next day the journey is resumed to Constantine, and again a day is passed in the "*fiery express*!" Whoever visits Algeria must certainly go to Constantine. It is one of the most beautiful cities I have ever seen; not because of its buildings, which are poor and uninteresting, but because of its magnificent situation. As a fortress town, if properly defended, it ought to be almost impregnable. The series of panoramic views, each one of greater natural beauty than the other, which you obtain whilst driving round the outskirts, is something to be written with letters of gold on the pages of life's book of delightful memories.

Finding that from Constantine to Tunis is a journey of about eighteen hours, I resolved to pass a day also at Bône, and on a certain Sunday afternoon I visited the site of the ancient Hippo,—a place with which, you will remember, the name of the great St. Augustine is indelibly associated; and it was here that he wrote that wonderful spiritual manual which has been read and re-read by hundreds and thousands of Christians. I mean, of course, his *Confessions*.

There is nothing left of Hippo save the cisterns and aqueduct which supplied the town with water; and near these a very unimposing statue of St. Augustine, above an altar surrounded by iron railings, links in the mind the classic with the Christian fame of this once great centre of commerce.

And now we are *en route* for Tunis ; and Tunis, when I get there, I find more delightful than Algiers, though altogether lacking the natural advantages of the latter. For thorough refreshment, for food for the eye and for the mind, for subtle contrasts, and hitherto unsuspected combinations of colour, for absolute novelty, for intellectual distraction, for amusement of the most variegated kind, for complete change, commend to me a visit to an Oriental city,—and Tunis is a little Constantinople. Take the old quarter of Stamboul at Constantinople, and flatten and depress its buildings into hideousness, take away its marvellous scenic surroundings, and then you have Tunis. Ah, yes ! you've got Tunis, but you haven't got Carthage ; and, I suppose, to you as archæologists the great attraction of Tunis would be its nearness to Carthage. For me, I am so wretchedly worldly that I linger in the bazaars afternoon after afternoon, purchasing yards of soft muslin or rich silk, because it is so pleasant to buy these things with much friendly but unintelligible barter, whilst the vendor entertains you in a most friendly manner over dainty cups of Turkish coffee. As a heathen poet says, “It is sweet to play the fool—*sometimes*” ; and life is sometimes all so dark and drear that we are fascinated with an Arabian Night's atmosphere, although we know that we are paying through the nose for perhaps “Brummagem” goods.

But Carthage is our destination, and to Carthage we must go. I will not enter into the history of Carthage because I presume you to be moderately well acquainted with that ; but I will tell you what you ought to do before you visit Carthage,—two things which I did not do. First of all, saturate yourself with the story of Carthage from its earliest time to its downfall, and get a mind-picture of its great (oh, so great !!) heroes and saints. Then, when you get there, stay for some days as near as you can to the place, and systematically tramp over the whole tract of arid country that is dotted here and there with more or less shapeless remains ; and do this, if you can, in company with congenially minded people. It is not every one, you know, who has a taste for archæology. Well, if you can't hap on a person who raves about old

stones, you yourself will be the best companion for yourself, though you may often be a dull one.

Now, when I went to Carthage, I made a flying excursion from Tunis, there and back in the day. I met with two young men who were the very reverse of archaeological students; and whilst I was there I was in a very bad temper because my camera got out of order, and I couldn't take any photographs of the spot I particularly wanted to have some remembrance of; and because the wind was so high that I couldn't keep my hat on; and then,—another because,—because, I will frankly confess to you, I was hugely disappointed in the remains, or rather want of remains. And that is why I give you advice which is the fruit of experience.

I am just going to tell you what general impressions I carried away, and these I will supplement by a little information from other sources. The general impressions you must take for what they are worth, and I am afraid they are not worth very much.

But, first of all, a word as to the ways to reach Carthage from Tunis. You can either go by train or make it a carriage-excursion. I preferred the latter alternative, and we halted for lunch at Marsa, an uninteresting place about midway between Carthage and Tunis, where the Bey (the nominal governing power of Tunis) has a summer residence. I should advise all persons who go by this route to take their lunch with them, as they won't find much at Marsa save a rough, rude shanty where they may sit on a wooden form, and spread out their viands on an unclothed table. Our guide, a most respectable old Jew (for Jews abound in Tunis), seemed to think this the best part of the excursion. He was not an archaeologist, poor old fellow, but he had got hold of the words "Dido" and "Carthage", and he rang the changes on these pretty frequently during our perambulations.

I shall always remember that lunch, for a little incident, most trifling in itself, brings back the whole scene to my memory. The little things of life take hold upon some minds, and I am afraid go far to obscure a proper view of the greater issues. "Little things please little minds." I plead guilty to the indictment, for I love

above all things to be childish ; but deep furrows in the face, and a head bereft of its natural covering, do not long encourage this sort of thing. The incident I referred to was this. I was very much surprised, whilst sauntering about after lunch, to see a fowl running along *minus* its head ; but all things were made clear when I presently saw an old Turk cleaning, with great deliberation, a very blunt razor.

The drive from Marsa to Carthage, and, indeed, all the way from Tunis, is as flat, monotonous, and unpicturesque, as you could possibly imagine any drive to be ; and when you arrive at Carthage, and you alight in a great plain with here and there crumbling heaps of masonry and great masses of irregular stones situated at great distance from each other, you perhaps say to yourself, with momentary vexation, “*Mais le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*” But as you walk from one unearthed site to the other, you begin to say again to yourself, “Carthage was a mighty city ; her power must have been something to reckon with in the ages that are gone.” But how few traces of her magnificence ! “*Delenda Carthago !*” The fiat went forth in the old, old time, and never was ruthless command more completely and amply fulfilled. Think of Tyrian Carthage destroyed by Romans, who leave us in its place a new city, which in its turn is laid waste by Genseric under the Vandals ; and later came a third visitation, a forcible possession by the descendants of Mahomet, the Caliphs ; and then wonder that, taking into account modern pillage, there should even remain a ruin so perfect in detail as that of the great basilica of Damous El-Karita, which was situated, it is supposed, just outside the ramparts of the ancient city. This reminds us that our complaint was made in ignorance.

Another fact that soon becomes to us most evident is that Carthage owed a great deal of its prosperity to its natural situation, having an unrivalled sea-front and a superb water-way, which advantages you can see by to-day’s ruins were adroitly turned to the best uses in the way of trade, commerce, and defence. The modern town of Tunis, far away in the distance, presents to us a very different spectacle, with its dirty salt-lakes at back and

front, and its awkwardly situated port, the Goletta, the small town at which is extending rapidly in the direction of Carthage.

But we will walk, if you please, in the direction of the before-mentioned basilica, which is to me a very notable building, and a short description of which I will give you in the words of the Père Delattre, the mission-priest belonging to the Order of "Les Pères Blancs", who has done so much in bringing to light the Christian archaeology of Carthage.

As to his discovery of this basilica he says: "Going one day, in 1878, to tend a wounded Arab at the village of Sidi-ben-Saïd, I crossed the fields by the shortest cut, which was then only a mere foot-track, and on arriving at the plot called *Damous-el-Karita*, situated 250 ft. from the ancient ramparts, I picked up a little piece of marble having on it these four letters, EVGE. This simple discovery was to lead, later on, to the opening up of a great Christian basilica. At first we only made borings, but initial investigations proved that the bed of earth ploughed every year by the Arabs covered overthrown columns, capitals of pillars, mosaics, bas-reliefs, and inscriptions."

He then goes on to say that Cardinal Lavigerie announced the discovery to the French Academy in 1881, and advised the establishment of a permanent archaeological mission at Carthage; and, believe me, in no spot is one more needed. But even before this communication "we had found", says he, "in this same plot 1,493 fragments of Christian epitaphs, of which 217 bore the formula, 'Fidelis in pace'; 14, the dove; 27, the palm; and 5, the cross."

Year by year more and more of the ground-plan of the basilica has been revealed, and now the whole is laid open to inspection. The whole building contained,—(1), in the middle, the basilica properly so called; (2), on the left, a semicircular atrium, with trichorum and nymphaeum; (3), on the right, a second basilica contiguous to the first, and enclosing the baptistery. In the central basilica there were no less than nine naves, these being separated from each other by eight rows of twelve

pillars. The orientation was from south-west to north-east. At the southern extremity of the great nave there was an apse, and another was discovered at the east, at the end of the transept. The first of these was paved with a mosaic floor, in which were represented vases, flowers, and other ornaments, in the most varied colours. The second apse was shut off by an *iconostasis* composed of four columns, cut each, with its stylobate and capital, in a monolith of grey marble. The screen of this *iconostasis* was formed of panels of white marble, ornamented on one side with a Latin cross, and on the other side (the side which faces inwards) with the monogram of Christ. At the point where the great nave cuts the transept (that is to say, at the central point of the basilica) there were found the remains of the ciborium, which overcanopied the altar. The columns supporting this were of the finest green marble, their bases and capitals being of white marble.

In the interior of the basilica were found a number of subterranean reservoirs. Most of these are undoubtedly Roman cisterns belonging to a date earlier than the basilica; but in one of them a great number of little cubes of glass, covered with gilding and enamel, were discovered; and this points, says our friend Delattre, to much destruction of rich mosaics at some time or other.

I have already alluded to the great "find" of Christian inscriptions here, but I dare say you will be surprised when I tell you that up to 1892 the number of these discovered in this one place exceeds 14,000. The bas-reliefs brought to light may be counted by hundreds. "The subject which recurs the most frequently is the Good Shepherd. Others show Eve after her disobedience, the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves, St. Peter and the cock, the Blessed Virgin presenting the Child Jesus to the adoration of the Magi. One of the most interesting represents the angel announcing to the shepherds the birth of Our Saviour." This was discovered in 1889, and, strange to say, just before the Feast of Christmas. There seems to be ground for considerable doubt as to a figure, many copies of which have been found, and which represents a woman nursing a child. From the attitude

and the general treatment one would at first sight suppose it to be a representation of the Blessed Virgin and the Child Christ. Figures something like these have been, by competent authorities, pronounced to signify the Egyptian Isis suckling Horus.

M. de Rossi, a great *savant*, says, in reference to the Carthaginian figures, "The little figures in terra-cotta have a Byzantine appearance, especially in the dress portrayed. I have never seen anything like them belonging to the Christian epoch. At Capua, in Campania, many terra-cotta figures are found representing divinities carrying a child on their knees. They are anterior to the Christian era. Those of Africa have no resemblance to them." The Père Delattre says, "Everything goes to make me believe that these little figures belong to the Christian epoch, without at the same time convincing me, in spite of an ardent desire I have to be so convinced, that they are Christian, and that they represent the Mother of God."

All these inscriptions, bas-reliefs, statuettes, etc., may be seen in the Museum formed by the Père Delattre, which contains also a vast number of objects belonging to the early Punic period.

Close to the Museum is the Chapel of St. Louis, and this commemorates the death of that saintly monarch at Carthage. As your *Murray* will tell you, "On the 8th of August 1830 a treaty was concluded between Charles X and the Regency of Tunis, containing the following article: 'We cede in perpetuity to H.M. the King of France a site in the Mäalaka, to erect a religious monument in honour of Louis IX, on the spot where that Prince died. We engage to respect, and to cause to be respected, this monument, consecrated by the Emperor of France to the memory of his most illustrious ancestor.'" As no one could find out the exact spot where St. Louis died, the French took the very best site on all the plain, the site of the Byrsa (the first point fortified by the Carthaginians), and erected there a most miserable little chapel. Behind this architectural abortion is the Séminaire, and on the ground-floor of this building you enter the Salle de St. Louis, the walls of which are

covered with paintings representing scenes in the life of the Saint.

I must mention the cisterns of Carthage, as they form a very important feature in the remains, inasmuch as one great public reservoir has been restored, and is now used for the supply of the Goletta and Marsa. There is storage here for 27,000 cubic mètres of water.

As we were going from one place to another, the guide, with a sudden burst of enthusiasm, induced me to descend into an underground cave lighted by a hole from the top, and assured me it was Dido's bath. The inhabitants of Carthage certainly revelled in the aqueous element !

And now our carriage will not wait any longer, and we must perforce return to Tunis, taking with us an ill-digested, rambling idea of our visit to one of the world's greatest centres, "once the Queen of Africa, and the rival of Rome itself." I have not told you half that I should have done about the remains. I have not even mentioned the Forum; the marble Temple of Æsculapius; the Circus; the Theatre, of which the red and black granite columns have been dispersed throughout Europe; the Amphitheatre, the scene of the martyrdom of St. Perpetua and her companions; the wonderful harbours. But I hope I have said enough to make you wish to go and see for yourself all these vestiges of antiquity.

I dare say you may know that the great Cardinal now passed to his rest, Cardinal Lavigerie, who lived at Carthage, and established in Africa that noble Order of the White Brethren, conceived the idea of restoring Carthage to something of her pristine grandeur; so, as a first step, he built a cathedral. But that proved to be, so far as he was concerned, the "end-all" of his ambition. It is a grand project; but I fancy that neither you nor I, nor our great-great-grandchildren, will ever see Carthage rise to be even a shadow of what she once was. The power has departed, the sceptre has gone, and Mahommedan misrule and French militarism have potent sway.

I cannot better conclude this short account of some days of travel than by quoting the words of the Cardinal,

words which he used when preaching at the consecration of the Cathedral: "And now, bells of our church, ring out a new Carthage! Tell only of resurrection and life! Enough of death, enough of catastrophe, enough of warfare, enough of strife, enough of mourning! Announce henceforth hope and heavenly consolation; speak to the people around only of peace, of forgetfulness of the past, of brotherly love, of prosperity and affluence. So be it!"





ON SKULL-GOBLETS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.



IN his fearful ballad of *Alonzo the Brave*, Monk Lewis describes the Skeleton Knight and the false one, in her bridal vesture, whirling and shrieking in the nuptial hall,—

“While they drink out of skulls newly
torn from the grave,
Dancing round them the spectres are seen ;
Their liquor is blood, and this horrible stave
They howl, ‘To the health of Alonzo the Brave
And his consort, the Fair Imogine !’”

However revolting the idea of this sanguinolent draught may seem, however repulsive the *caput mortuum* goblet may appear, that hideous, sickening draught and ghastly goblet were not mere inventions of the poet, but things of stern reality,—facts attested by eminent historians and modern travellers, and proclaimed far and wide throughout the globe :

“The pleasantest beverage is the blood of our enemies,
The most agreeable shade is that of spears ;
The sword and the dagger are fragrant flowers ;
Our drink is the blood of our enemies,
Our cups their skulls”,

is the glowing language of a Persian poem in which are embodied and expressed the feelings and passions of many nations and many eras.¹ The pages of Herodotus (iv, 64, 65) bear record that every Scythian drank the blood of the first person he slew in battle, and that the skulls of those they most detested were cut off below the

¹ See *Flowers of Persian Literature*, collected by Rousseau (1801), p. 173.

eyebrows, and after cleansing were employed as drinking-cups. Those used by the poor were simply covered with leather, but the goblets of the rich were lined with gold; and if any stranger whom they deemed of consequence chanced to visit them, these skulls were displayed before him as a testimony of valour, and relation given of what connection they had with their victims, of how they had received provocation, and how their victory had been achieved. According to Chinese writers, the Scythians, in the year B.C. 163, drove the *Yue-ti* across the Jaxartes, killed the king, and converted his skull into a drinking-cup, which was still in use a hundred and fifty years after the event.¹

We gather from Herodotus (iv, 26) that the Issedones, who dwelt in what is known as Great Tartary, feasted on the bodies of their deceased parents, and preserved their skulls, which they accoutred with gold, and produced at their annual sacrifices.

Sir John Mandeville, who visited the East in the reign of our third Edward, described (c. 31) an island called Rybothe, which was then under the rule of "the grete Chane", and says that the people had a custom of cutting up their fathers when dead, and exposing the flesh to the fowls of the air, which they considered as the "angels of God"; but the son preserved the skull, which he used as a goblet. The worthy old Knight reports, "of the brayn panne he letethe make a cuppe, & thereof drynkethe he & his other frendes also, with gret devocioun, in remembrance of the holy man that the aungeles of God han eaten; and that cuppe the sone schalle kepe to drynken of alle his lif tyme, in remembrance of his fadir."

Major Remel states that he had seen human skulls, brought from the temples of Bootan, which were converted into drinking-bowls in the Scythian manner, as described by Herodotus.

One, perhaps, of the strangest items looted from the Summer Palace of the Emperor of China at Peking, in 1860, was a drinking-cup formed of the calvaria of the

¹ See *Namismatic Chronicle* (1889), p. 269, from Remusat, *Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, i, 205.

great philosopher Kung-foo-tse, or Confucius as the Europeans call him. It was set in gold, and mounted on a tripod. On it are four figures in faint relief, that on the frontal portion being the letter A in a Tibetan form of Sanskrit, referable to about the seventh or eighth century of the Christian era. This wonderful relic was deposited in the Chinese Department of the International Exhibition of 1862; and on Dec. 21, 1869, Professor Busk produced it at a meeting of the Ethnological Society, when some doubts were started regarding the validity of the celestial tradition that this antique skull once held the brain of the sapient Kung-foo-tse.

If draughts of human blood and cups of human skulls were congenial to the tastes and habits of the comparatively refined races of Asia, need we marvel that traces of such tastes and habits are discernible amid the barbaric tribes of America and Oceania, and enshrined not only in song, but preserved in tactile relics. It is stated in Simmonds' *Colonial Magazine* (i, 44) that the Maipurishnas, or Cortoipityans (Tapir) Indians, who live near the Kaphw River, in the interior of Guiana, are reported to be cannibals who devour the flesh of their slain enemies, and convert their skulls into drinking-vessels.

The sanguinary passions of the braves of North America are clearly shown in the following war-song from Bossu's *Travels through Louisiana*,—"I go to war to revenge the death of my brother—I shall kill—I shall exterminate—I shall burn my enemies—I shall bring away slaves—I shall devour their hearts, dry their flesh, drink their blood—I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups of their skulls." And much in the same spirit sings the Maori warrior, "Is the head of Ruakerepo, indeed, considered sacred? Why, it shall be given to me as a pot for boiling shell-fish at Kanau."¹

In Eyre's *Australia* (ii) we read of a "drinking-cup being the skull of a native with the sutures closed with wax or gum"; and in the British Museum is a skull-goblet from the Samoa group, or Navigators' Islands; and I

¹ This song is given in *The Story of New Zealand Past and Present*, by A. S. Thomson, M.D., 1860.

have one which was obtained many years since in the Marquesas Islands. This calvaria is of an ovate form, slightly inclining to the platycephalic type, but very ill-shaped, the right side bulging out much more than the left does. The sutures are a good deal solidified, indicating that the skull must have belonged to "an old enemy". The edges of the vessel are rather rudely hacked, but attempt has been made to smooth off a part to place to the lips. The interior is deeply stained of a dark chocolate hue, the dye being imparted by the intoxicating beverage called *ava* or *kava*, the favourite liquor of the warriors of the South Sea Islands. This rare goblet was formerly in the collection of the learned entomologist, the late Thomas Ingall.

From certain expressions in the death-song of Ragnar Lodbrok it has been inferred that the heroes of Valhalla were to be provided with brain-pan cups at their banquets. Hence Southey says :

"They thought
One day from Ella's skull to quaff the mead,
Their valour's guerdon."

But Fenn Magnusen and Professor Rask have shown that the words of the Skald imply that the draught is to be taken "out of the curved branches of the skull"; in other words, out of the horns of an animal. Though this reading deprives the chosen warriors of Odin of a sensational vessel for carousal, the fact that crania-cups were used among European nations is too well attested to admit of doubt. We learn from Livy (xxiii, 24) that the Boii, one of the most powerful people of Celtic Gaul, were wont to convert the skulls of their vanquished foes into drinking-goblets; and in several of the lake-dwellings of Switzerland, segments of human skulls have been discovered which have been regarded as drinking-cups.¹

Do the bones denuded of their flesh before interment, and the headless skeletons discovered in some of the earlier Britannic barrows, point to the practice of cannibalism, and the use of skull-goblets, among our archaic tribes?²

¹ See Dr. R. Munro's *Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, pp. 537, 542.

² See Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, pp. 185, 227, 261, 272.

In the questionable *Chronicle* of Richard of Cirencester (i, 8) it is said of the ancient Irish that "the conquerors, after drinking the blood of the slain, daub their faces with the remainder"; and General Vallancey (vi, 275) found reason to believe that they employed human skulls for drinking-cups.

Mention is made in the *Dublin Penny Journal* (ii, 216) that a descendant of Mac Carty More, King of Munster, had in his possession a cup said to be formed of the cranium of an ancestor of Brien Boiromhe, whom the Mac Carty had slain in battle. It was highly polished, and had a silver lid. This is not a solitary instance of the head of royalty being made to do duty as a goblet, for we have already seen that the skull of the King of the *Yue-ti* was long used as a drinking-cup. In the mythic legend of Vælund (or, as he is popularly called, Wayland Smith) it is said that after he had murdered the two sons of Niduth, King of Sweden, he converted their skulls into goblets by plating them with silver, and then sent them as a present to their unsuspecting father.¹ And history tells us that the Lombard monarch, Alboinus, having slain in battle Curimund, King of the Gepidæ, employed his skull as a wine-cup, which one day he had the brutality to offer to his Queen, Rosimond (the daughter of his victim), which so incensed her that she caused the offender to be assassinated in the year 570. Crumus, a tyrant of Bulgaria, having taken the Emperor Nicephorus I prisoner in 811, cut off his head, and made a drinking-vessel of his skull. And it is related that Swetoslaw, Duke of Kiof, having fallen by the hands of the Prince of the Petchenegans in 972, the latter transformed his victim's skull into a goblet.²

If credence is to be given to a suspicious report, the tiara has met with no more respect than the crown, for it is affirmed that the Marquis of Curton converted the skull of Clement VI into a wine-cup, which skull had

¹ See *Journal*, xvi, 53.

² Could the Calves' Head Club have obtained the cranium of King Charles I, they would doubtlessly have converted it into a goblet; but failing to do so, they contented themselves with the skull of a calf, from which they drank at their orgies held on January 30.

been obtained when the Pope's tomb was rifled in 1562.

Crania of all sorts and conditions of mankind have served as goblets for divers ranks of people. St. Frances, founder of the Order of Collations, who died in 1440, is said to have enjoyed her evening draught of dirty water out of a human skull. In the Hall of Anatomy at Leyden is a drinking-cup made of the skull of a Moor killed in the beleaguering of Haerlem, 1573.

The *muscus ex cranio humano* is an old and well-known recipe for the falling evil, and chin-cough in children, as John Gerarde tells us in his *Herball* (ed. 1633, p. 1563); but it is not so generally known that liquor drank from a human skull was deemed an antidote to poison, but so it would appear by the following narrative. Arthur Agard, in his dissertation on the phrase "Sterling Money", when speaking of the debased coins of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, which were declared to be no longer current when Queen Elizabeth issued her amended money in 1559, states that the "Esterlings, who, being Germans, brought up in the mines there of silver and copper, were, by Her Majesty's order, for the refining of our base coins, brought hither by Alderman Lodge, with whom I was familiarly acquainted. This he told me, that most of them in melting fell sick to death with the savour, so as they were advised to drink from a dead man's skull for their recure. Whereupon he, with others, who had the oversight of this work, procured a warrant from the Council to take off the heads upon London Bridge, and make cups thereof, out of which they drank, and found some relief, though although most of them died."

In Thomas Middleton's play of *The Witch* (i, 1), the Duke brings forward a cup formed of a skull, at which the Governor exclaims, "A skull, my Lord!" When the Duke replies,—

"Call it a soldier's cup, man !

Fy ! How you fright the women ! I have sworn
It shall go round.

Our Duchess, I know, will pledge us, tho' the cup
Was once her father's head, which as a trophy
We 'll keep till death."

Though the *penchant* for Death's head cups seemed all but extinct in England by the dawn of the seventeenth century, the present age has witnessed a slight revival of the old taste, for I am informed that the calvaria of a French trumpeter, killed during the wars of the first Napoleon, was, by the order of a Sir John Dashwood, lined with gold, the eye-sockets decked with rubies, and mounted on a foot as a drinking-vessel.¹ And Lord Byron's horrific wine-cup, with its silver rim and foot, will ever be remembered by the vigorous lines in which its noble owner makes the defunct once more address the living, bidding them

"Start not, nor deem my spirit fled.
In me behold the only skull
From which, unlike a living head,
Whatever flows is never dull."

The reckless levity displayed in this beautifully worded poem evoked a sharp and telling rebuke in verses almost equally fine, and which, as being well-nigh forgotten, are here selected as an apposite conclusion to our grim and ghastly story. They were indited by Mr. T. Moore to Lord Byron on reading the stanza just referred to :

"Why hast thou bound around with silver trim
This once gay-peopled palace of the soul ?
Look on it now, deserted, bleached, and grim !
Is *this*, thou feverish man, thy festal bowl ?

"Is *this* the cup wherein thou seek'st the balm,
Each brighter chalice to thy lip denies ?
Is *this* the oblivious bowl whose floods becalm
The worm that will not sleep, and never dies ?

"Woe to the lip to which *this* cup is held !
The lip that's palled with every purer draught,
For which alone the rifled grave can yield
A goblet worthy to be deeply quaffed.

"Strip, then, this glittering mockery from the skull,
Restore the relic to its tomb again,
And seek a healing balm within the bowl,
That blessed bowl that never flowed in vain !"

¹ My informant saw this skull, some sixty years since, in the shop of T. Wirgman, jeweller, St. James' Street.



THE EXCAVATION OF A ROMAN VILLA IN THE WADFIELD, NEAR SUDELEY CASTLE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

BY E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. TREASURER.

(Read 3rd April 1895.)



OCASIONALLY Roman remains are discovered in places where they may be little expected, and where the presence of such might be considered unlikely. While this is so in all portions of England, it is more particularly so in Gloucestershire. In this favoured county it may be said with reason that there is no spot, however far away from any modern track, where the finding of Roman remains may not be expected. The district around the little town of Winchcombe would appear to an ordinary traveller of to-day to be a very unlikely spot for meeting with traces of Roman occupation, for it is far away from any known Roman station. But this is not the case.

Roman Gloucester and Worcester, and the line of approach, the one from the other, are at considerable distances. Cirencester is also in another direction. No Roman road of importance traverses the Winchcombe district, unless it be the Salt Way, an old track which evidently derives its name from its use in later times, to bring the salt, by pack-horses, from the Worcestershire "wiches" into the adjacent districts. After passing through Worcester its course can be traced along several modern roadways into the south of England. The Foss-way traverses part of the Sudeley estate, but it is several miles away from the Castle.

The town of Winchcombe, which nestles among the surrounding hills of the Cotswold range, now one of the

most inaccessible towns in England, has no present claim to be considered of Roman origin, for nothing Roman, *in situ*, has yet been found there; and yet its first appearance in history is as the metropolis of the great kingdom of Mercia. Traces there are to indicate that the district and the site of the town were occupied in prehistoric times. These, among other details, consist of the faint outline of what was possibly a British *oppidum* on Langley Hill, which dominates the town on the north-west; and of a huge tumulus, unquestionably of ancient British origin, on Bellar's Knap; while flint-flakes and arrow-heads have been found in large numbers all over the district.

In comparatively recent years it has become known that the locality, at any rate to the south-east of the town, was full of traces of Roman occupation. Let us consider what Mrs. Dent of Sudeley Castle has said on this subject:—

“In Spoonley Coppice we have found great quantities of tesserae, and the remains of what must have been various apartments, each painted in different coloured frescoes, coins, bones of animals, tusks of the wild boar, and wood-ashes. (This was before the discovery of the Spoonley villa.) Tesserae have also been found in the garden of Sudeley Lanes Farm, adhering to the roots of vegetables, and in the field opposite the keeper's lodge. In Stancombe Wood also there must be Roman remains, as there was found the monumental stone of the Roman soldier. It is to be hoped all these places will some day be carefully examined.”¹

In addition to the above there is a notice of the unearthing of part of a Roman villa in the Wadfield, about a mile and a half from the Castle. This is the site of the recent works of exploration which form the subject of the present paper. The first discovery took place in 1863, and a certain portion of the field was then excavated. Its discovery is thus described by Mrs. Dent:—

“As usual, this was brought to light through the instrumentality of the plough, which struck against a stone. Upon the removal of this and other stones which were then found, a Roman villa was

¹ *The Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, by Emma Dent, p. 15. The stone referred to is figured in the above book.

discovered beneath the surface of the soil, the plan of which was in a perfect state of preservation. It was of the usual form, and, in addition to the reception-rooms, with hypocaust or bath. The average dimensions of the rooms were about 15 ft. square, and they apparently must have been occupied by some individual holding a high military appointment. The tessellated pavement was as perfect as if just completed by the workmen; but its speedy removal was found to be absolutely necessary in order to preserve it from the Winchcombe public, who in the space of one Sunday afternoon carried off a large portion, in small pieces, as souvenirs. Thanks to the energy and ability of Mr. Fred. Simmons, bailiff, this valuable memento of Roman times was soon safely lodged in the greenhouse of Sudeley Castle."¹

A plan of the lines of walling is given in Mrs. Dent's book in illustration of the above description.

As if these traces of Roman remains were not sufficient, there exists, about a mile and three-quarters from the Castle, the magnificent Roman villa in Spoonley Wood, also on the Castle estate, which has been so admirably excavated at Mrs. Dent's expense, and described by Professor Middleton.² While this villa has been carefully cared for, the beautiful pavements covered over by buildings, the roofing of which are the original slates cut to diamond-shaped ends, and the walls cleared of undergrowth, and protected, the Wadfield villa had been filled in and completely covered over, a portion only of the site having been laid open for a short time.

A few months ago, following upon the exploration of the site of the celebrated Abbey in the town of Winchcombe,³ Mrs. Dent determined to have the Wadfield site thoroughly examined. I was again fortunate in being invited to superintend the works. The field showed no traces, above ground, of the existence of walling beneath; and the site, high up on the slope of the hills which terminate in Bellar's Knap, hardly appeared

¹ *The Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*, p. 14.

² *Archæologia*, lii, 651. "On a Roman Villa in Spoonley Wood, Gloucestershire, and on Romano-British Houses generally." By Professor J. Henry Middleton, F.S.A. This paper has recently been republished in Mrs. Dent's "Additional Illustrations."

³ See the description of the discoveries then made, *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*

a likely one for a Roman villa. Traces of pottery and Roman brick scattered over the surface of the ploughed field, however (doubtless the result of the previous excavations made in it), were visible here and there.

Aided by the estate workmen and others, many of whom had been engaged at the excavations of the Abbey and of the Spoonley Wood villa, under the direction of Mr. Haines, the clerk of works, progress was soon made. We set out a long trench across the portion of the field which appeared to have the most irregular surface, and although, for a long portion of its course, nothing at all was encountered, yet by working in a straight line at both ends, portion of a Roman wall was at last encountered. The trench was then abandoned, and all hands were set to following the course of the walls, and soon others and cross-walls were encountered; and on their thickness being searched for, entrance was obtained into the area of the building, and room after room was laid bare, and thoroughly cleared out, down to the original floor-levels wherever they could be ascertained. The earth was wheeled away to a position which, by examination beforehand, was found not to contain any buildings, and thus it was not necessary to move it, or any part of it, a second time, as is not unfrequently the case in similar excavation-works. By selecting a spot on the slope of the hill, the work of wheeling was greatly helped, since the workmen had the benefit of the descent with their load, while the return along the ascent was made without it.

Following the plan which is always the most economical for adoption in works of this description, a sufficient quantity of planks for the various "runs", wheelbarrows, and other appliances, were provided at the commencement. Nothing, therefore, hindered the rapid progress of the works when thus once undertaken. The result is shown on the accompanying plan. The foundations of an interesting Roman villa have been laid bare, and its ground-plan all but entirely recovered. It should be compared with Professor Middleton's plan of the Spoonley Wood villa already referred to. It will be seen that while it has a singularly close resemblance to it in

several particulars, yet it is only a little more than one half the length, from side to side, of the larger villa.

The plan now exhibited shows the general arrangements. It will be seen that the building consists of a centre and two wings, enclosing a courtyard 34 ft. wide. There has been a corridor, of varying widths, on three sides, abutting on to the courtyard, more or less broken by cross-walls; although to the side-corridors some of the cross-walls may have been the foundation of steps, necessary owing to the building being on the fairly steep side of the hill.

The entrance has been in the centre of the central building, as we may judge by a built-up step of several stones which remains within the corridor; but there are no traces of steps to the external wall; nor are there, as at Spoonley Wood, any remaining signs of a paved path across the courtyard up to their site.

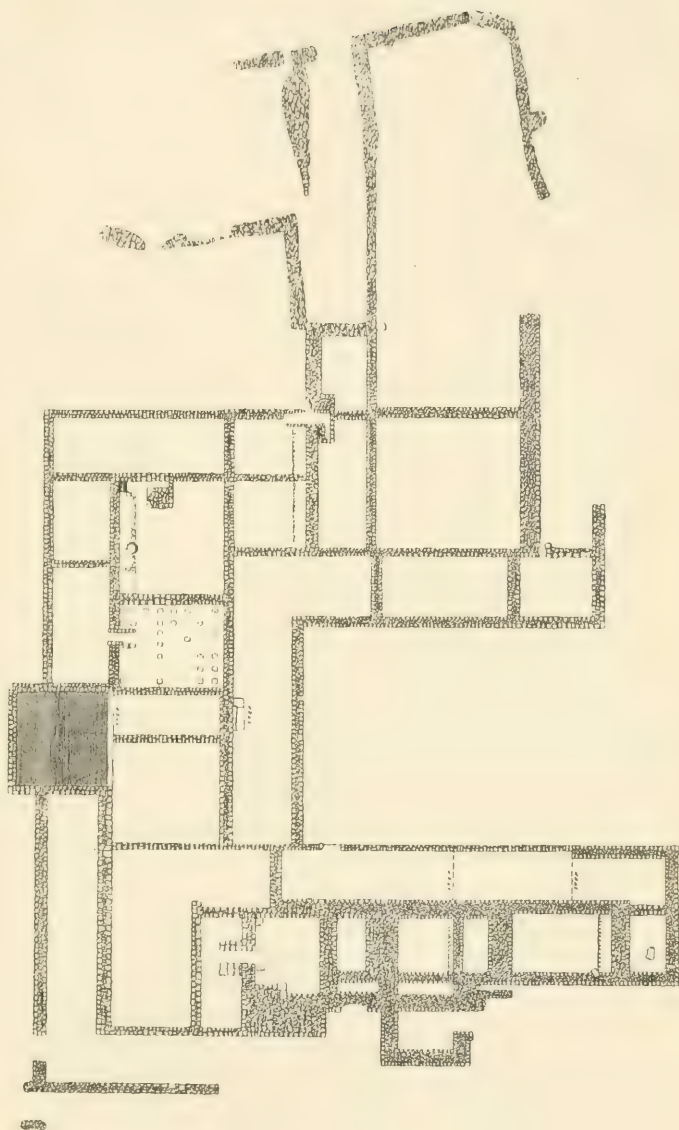
A passage, 6 ft. 2 ins. wide, leads up to a quadrangular room which projects beyond the back of the building, and it opens in front, beside the passage, into a large apartment, 15 ft. 9 ins. wide by 15 ft. It is at a level below it, but there is no sign of any wall. There is an arrangement very similar, only that the two apartments are level and symmetrical, at Spoonley; and here Professor Middleton, with much reason, places the *tablinum*.

The higher apartment still preserves a pavement of neatly laid red tesserae; the lower one possessed fine mosaic pavement which, from the pattern having been completed to one half only of its composition, led to the belief that it was never finished. It is now in one of the greenhouses at Sudeley Castle, having been taken up many years ago during the previous excavation.¹

At Spoonley a beautiful pavement was found in a small room (probably the winter *triclinium*), remarkable for not being in the centre of the room, but much on one

¹ Its pattern is worked a little more than one half, and I am assured that it was found in this condition. It is shown in colours by the fourth plate in Mrs. Dent's book already named. Various antiquities found in 1863, including the foot of a human statue, of good proportion and execution, are also figured in that work.

ROMAN VILLA AT THE WADFIELD
SUDELEY CASTLE



side. It has been suggested that this was to allow space for the couches and table. May not the occurrence of only a portion of mosaic work have been to allow of the rest of the room to be covered with couches or furniture, the bare portion alone being filled in with mosaic ?

To the right a hypocaust, with several *phylæ* of brick, was met with. The opening into the hypocaust is from the long chamber beyond it. Here, most probably, was the winter *triclinium*, since the apartment next to it was, doubtless, the kitchen. A raised mass of masonry remains, as if for a table. The angle of the wall still retains a fragment of a floor of red tesserae. Beneath the table-platform is a large, moulded capital of a half-octagonal column, built up as old material. Its angles are badly set out, although the mouldings are neatly worked. There is a return-chamber beyond, so placed as to make it difficult to understand how the kitchen could have been lighted. It was probably from above. Four more rooms, grouped as shown on the plan, form the right hand wing. One of these may have been a bath, since there are traces of an aperture that may have been a drain ; but these are too slight to determine the use with any certainty.

The left hand wing at Spoonley is quite separated from the rest of the building, and it has an external doorway into the courtyard. The doorway occurs also here at Wadfield, and one of its stone jambs, rebated for the door, remains ; but there is no more evidence that the wing was separated than is the case with the left hand wing. Unfortunately, hardly in any case are the doorways defined, the walls running through where they may have occurred ; and the walls remain hardly anywhere higher than the floor-levels, except where favoured by the sloping site. It would appear, however, as if this wing, instead of being devoted only for the rooms of the slaves, was of more importance. The walls are, in some positions, of great thickness, and in some places show signs of reconstruction and alteration. One of the rooms has a well-defined hypocaust, probably for a bath, since there is a raised mass which may have formed a platform

above the floor-level (now destroyed) for descent of bathers.

The curious arrangement of the apartments forming this wing will be best understood by reference to the plan. The plan indicates the regularity with which the various apartments are set out. The lines are not continuous in every case, and there is much irregularity in the thicknesses of the walls; but they are all at right angles with much exactness to the main portions.

The material is the coarse oolite stone of the neighbourhood,—a stone which is a solid mass of innumerable globular, fossil animalculi of small but varying size. The facings are chopped stone not badly squared, and laid in horizontally, but of irregular-sized blocks. A well-defined plinth exists where shown on plan, and at the back of the *tablinum* the exterior of the wall, when opened, preserved some broad, square pointing of mortar with the joints neatly cut. This was so perfect as rather to lead to the belief that it was done when the villa was opened previously. However, an early frost speedily destroyed it. All the mortar was made of poor, chalk-like lime of no strength. All the walls, internally, have been plastered, and painted in bright colours,—Pompeian red, blue, buff, and yellow. Black lines and borders occur, and indicate that the villa must have been decorated with considerable taste. The colours are still very brilliant on the fragments of fallen plaster thrown up by the excavators, and a portion remaining on the walls of the *tablinum* (a Pompeian red) was equally so when the work was laid bare.

Beyond the main villa, traces were met with of some very massive but very irregular walls, one of which was curved. There was also a roughly paved courtyard. Some of these walls are shown on the plan; others were traced to a considerable distance; but after many trial-excavations had been made, their further investigation was reluctantly abandoned, since the results did not appear to warrant the outlay. They had been demolished, for the sake of the material, in almost every case quite down to the foundations, a portion only being left here and there. While the Spoonley Wood villa was for-

tunately abandoned to be buried as it fell, in a mass of forest growth, this villa has been, on the contrary, used as a quarry until the wants of the demolishers were satisfied. A few only of roofing slabs of thin stones with pointed ends, as at Spoonley, were found; the remainder had been carted away.

None of the elegant little circular columns found in such abundance at Spoonley were met with here; but there are evidences that moulded stonework existed. The sketches show a few examples, and the base of a small column, 7 ins. square, may be one of similar use to the circular ones at the other villa. The greater thickness of the corridor-wall to the central portion most probably was provided for their support.

But few coins have been found, one of which (a third brass of Arcadius) is now exhibited; a first brass of Domitian indicates, however, an earlier period for the existence of the villa. There was a good deal of pottery found, of usual types, of buff, black, and with scored lines, fawn coloured; a few pieces of granulated ware; but only a few fragments, and no more, of Samian ware, not figured. These are all now preserved at Sudeley Castle.

It may be well to add a notice of the positions of the Spoonley Wood villa in relation to that at the Wadfield. The two are within sight. Spoonley Wood consists of a tangled mass of timber and undergrowth, at the bottom of a valley, or nearly so, close to a small rivulet, and the villa, the walls of which are surrounded by the wood, is on a level site which has been entirely cleared. The Wadfield is, on the contrary, high up on the steep slope of the hill already referred to, the incline being, on an average, about 1 ft. in 5 ft. It is on ground several hundred feet higher above the other villa, and about a mile and a quarter distant, the two sites being separated by a beautiful valley. A capital spring exists about a quarter of a mile away, known by old tradition, on all the country side, as "Puck's Well."

From the villa admirable views over the surrounding country may be obtained on three sides, the fourth being shut in by the still ascending hill, which culminates in

the ancient tumulus; but from a position just a little further to the north a still better view is obtainable over the present town of Winchcombe and Sudeley Castle, both low down in the extended valley, and far away towards the range of the Malvern Hills in the extreme distance. Why this spot, in preference to the other, was not selected, may be explained possibly by some small amount of easier communication with the larger villa in the valley and with the spring.

While the less important portions of the villa have been filled in again for preservation, the more important parts have been kept open for observation, the walls being preserved from damage by the elements by being covered on top by the largest of the old stones found, and placed loose on them.

The villa stands, with its courtyard, facing all but due east, the two wings being respectively south and north. The east front faces the valley and the prospect, and the west looks only upon the side of the ascending hill, at present quite bare and bleak; but it may have been laid out with gardens in Roman times.

I can hardly conclude without making some reference to the munificence of the lady owning the soil. Not content with the costly work of the investigation of the Spoonley Wood villa and of Winchcombe Abbey, this is now a third work undertaken in the interests of archaeological science, and the thanks of all antiquaries are surely due to her for her generous expenditure of thought and means.





THE DOORS OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA SABINA IN ROME.

BY S. RUSSELL-FORBES, PH.D.

(Read 6th March 1895.)



THE Church of Santa Sabina, on the Aventine Hill, was founded by an Illyrian priest named Peter, in A.D. 425, partly on the site of Camillus' Temple of Juno Regina. Consecrated by Sixtus III in A.D. 432, it belongs to the Order of Saint Dominic.

Leading into the church from the vestibule of the Monastery are a handsome pair of doors with panels in cedar of Lebanon wood, carved in relief with scenes from the Old and New Testament. The panels are set in frames of cypress, composed of vine-leaves, illustrating Our Lord's words, "I am the vine". These carved panels are the earliest specimen of Christian carved woodwork in existence, and are of the time of Sixtus III (A.D. 432-40), agreeing in style with the mosaics of this Pope in Santa Maria Maggiore, and, like them, classical in their treatment: both of which are a great advancement on the fourth century tempera daubs of the Catacombs, and both introduce fresh subjects into Christian art. The style and subjects of these panels agree with the sculptured sarcophagi of the same period in the Lateran. The vine-frames are later than the panels; we believe remountings of the thirteenth century.

There are five rows of sculptured panels, alternately small and large; eighteen in all, four in a row, two of the small ones in the last row being lost, the top row commencing with small panels.

I propose calling attention to these ancient reliefs,

taking the different rows in order, commencing at the top left hand panel. There is no proper sequence in the way that they are now placed; probably their original order was very different, the present one dating from the time that they were set in their existing vine-frames. Various descriptions of the subjects of these panels have been published. Many of the scenes are obvious, but none of the descriptions given are altogether correct. We give a new and correct interpretation of several (marked *), and we have also assigned their correct date. The bracket numbers refer to the Plates.

(1.) *The Crucifixion*.—"Then were there two thieves crucified with him; one on the right hand, and another on the left." (Matt. xxvii, 38.) This is the oldest representation of the crucifixion in existence, and perhaps the first. The Saviour is made larger than the thieves. This is to show His divinity, following pagan art. In the background is a building with three pediments, one for each subject. All three have their arms bent, not stretched out, as the figures of the Orante in the Catacombs. The crosses are not distinctly shown, the figures hiding them; but the top of the cross can be seen above the head of the repentant thief, and the extremities of the arms of the cross of the other thief. The Saviour has no nimbus; the head follows the traditional likeness, with long hair, beard, and moustaches. The figures are nude, with the exception of a slight girdle.

(2.) *Mary Alphæus and Mary Magdalene at the Sepulchre*.—"Came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven." (Matt. xxviii, 1.) Here the angel is represented larger than the women, who have their heads veiled. The tomb in the background consists of a pediment, in which is a window, and a circular archway.

(3.) *Adoration of the Magi*.—"They saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures they presented unto him gifts." (Matt. ii, 11.) Mary is seated on a sort of throne at the top of a flight of steps; the three Magi have the Persian cap and trowsers. They

L. Hand.

Top.



CARVINGS ON THE DOORS OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA SABINA AT ROME.

were, doubtless, Persian astronomers and sun-worshippers, following magism, or the worship of the elements. Such figures of the Magi, or priests, may be seen on ancient reliefs.

(4.) **Christ receiving Santa Sabina*.—This panel is divided by two palm-trees into three compartments, each of which is occupied by a figure. The palm signifies a martyr. All three here represented were martyrs. In the centre is the Saviour with a nimbus round His head. The right hand is extended in the act of blessing the Saint, who occupies the left compartment. Our Lord holds in His left hand a fish. This is symbolical of Himself, and shows who the figure is intended for. We find this symbol in the Catacombs. If we take the Greek word for a fish, ΙΧΘΥΣ, and write the letters vertically, they form the initials of Jesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour. To the right is St. Peter, the namesake of the founder of the church; his head is turned towards the Saviour, and it is surrounded with a nimbus. To the left is Santa Sabina, to whose memory the church was dedicated; her hands are clasped together, and her knee is slightly bent in reverence as she receives her Lord's blessing and acceptance. A nimbus surrounds her head. The circular nimbus round these heads shows that the figures have departed this life; if they were living the nimbus would be rectangular. This was an old pagan symbol of regal power. For example, we find it round the head of Juno Regina (112 in the Braccia Nuova of the Vatican), and round the head of Hadrian in coins, and in his medallion reliefs on the Arch of Constantine, exactly as these nimbus are represented in this carved panel. These nimbus here are its earliest representation in Christian sculptured art, as its appearance in the mosaics of Sta. Maggiore are the first in pictorial art; they are contemporary. There they follow pagan tradition, and are placed round the heads of David, Jesus, the Magi, and Herod, as kings; but here is the new departure,—glory round the heads of the sanctified. All the women in the other panels have their heads veiled because they are Orientals. Here Santa Sabina is not veiled because it was not a Western custom.

The next set of panels are long ones. The first represents the three miracles of Canaan.

(5.) **Christ and the Woman of Canaan*.—"Truth, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table." (Matt. xv, 27.) Christ has in His hand the rod of power; behind Him is a building with a gable roof; the woman has her hand extended, in the act of speaking; below is the miracle which followed.

(6.) *The Multiplication of the Bread*.—"And they took up of the broken meat that was left seven baskets full." (Matt. xv, 37.) There are three fish on the border below. Christ is touching one of the baskets with His rod. The loaf in each basket is of the same shape as those used in Rome to-day, and they have the cross upon them, like hot cross-buns. This is the first appearance of the cross in Christian art. Beneath is

(7.) *Turning the Water into Wine*.—"There were set there six waterpots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews." (John ii, 6.) Here the sculptor departs from the truth, and shows seven pots. This is evidently done to correspond with the seven baskets above.* In these two subjects we have a symbolical picture of the Lord's Supper, the bread and wine representing the body and blood of Christ, the fish on the border representing Jesus. Our Lord holds His rod over the jars.

The next panel commences with

(8.) *Moses at the Waters of Marah*.—"The Lord showed him a tree which, when He had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet." (Exodus xv, 25.) Moses stands in the centre; on the right is the hand of the Almighty; to the left an oak tree. Beneath is

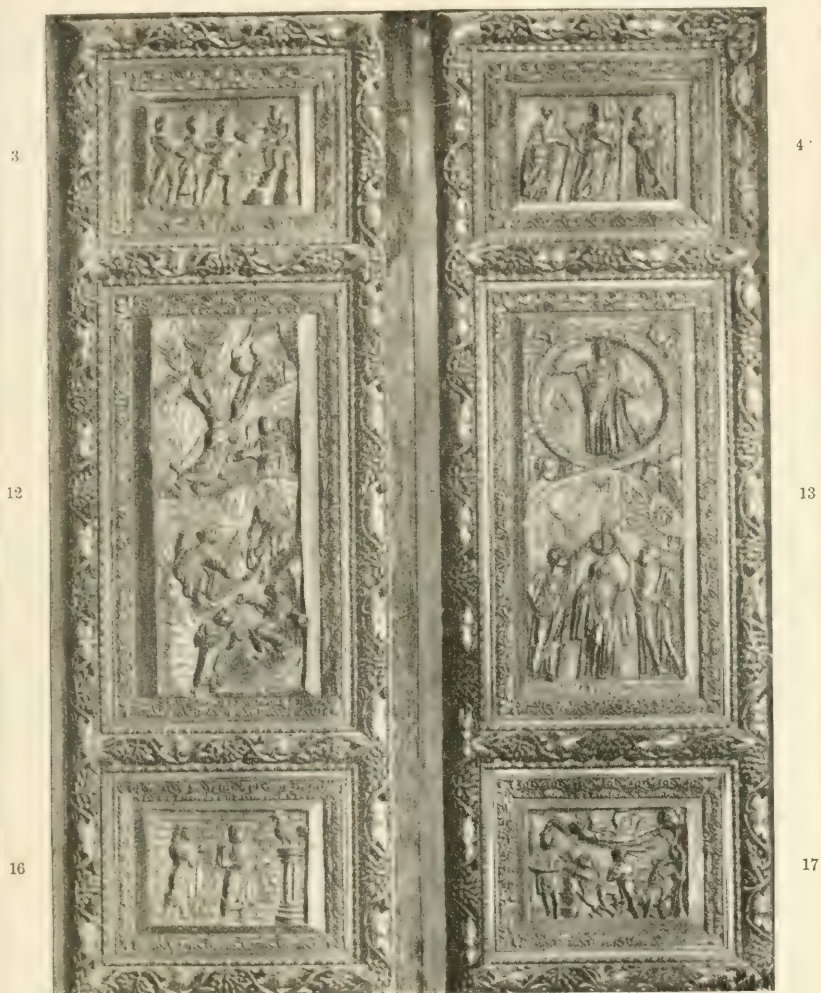
(9.) *Fed with Quails*.—"At even the quails came up, and covered the camp." (Exodus xvi, 13.) Three figures are sitting at a table upon which is a plate of quails. Below,

(10.) *They did eat Manna*.—"This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat." (Exodus xvi, 15.) Three figures are seated at a table; right and left are standing figures in armour; in front of the left man is a measure (omer). Under is

(11.) *The Waters of Horeb*.—"Thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may

Top.

R. Hand.



CARVINGS ON THE DOORS OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA SABINA AT ROME.

drink." (Exodus xvii, 6 ; Numbers xx, 11.) Moses stands in the centre ; on the right is the hand of the Creator ; to the left, water rushes out of the rock.

The next long panel is one scene,

(12.)* *The Ascension of Christ*.—At the top are two angels supporting the Saviour ; one sustains His head, the other holds Him by the hands ; to the right is an angel saying to four apostles below, "Why stand ye gazing up into heaven ?" (Acts i, 11.) Only one of the disciples is standing, the other three are cast down in amazement. This is the earliest representation of the ascension of Our Lord.

The next panel represents

(13.) *The Glory of Christ and the Church*.—Christ stands within a wreath of bay, signifying his triumph, supported by the emblems of the four Evangelists, their earliest use in art. A nimbus surrounds His head, and on the sides are Λ ω ; below is a female figure looking up ; she represents the Church of Christ ; on either side are Peter and Paul holding a wreath above her head ; in the sky are the sun, moon, and stars.

The next row are small panels.

(14.)* *Peter's Confession of Christ*.—"Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona : for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." (Matt. xvi, 17.) Christ is on the left, with His hand extended towards His first convert, St. Peter, whose head is bowed, and whose hands are held slightly apart, and open, as though receiving ; behind this figure are two others with heads erect. The head of Our Lord is surrounded by a nimbus, which contains the sacred monogram, Ψ , the top of the letters just showing above His head.

The next is

(15.) *Christ's Appearance to the two Marias*.—"Behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail !" (Matt. xxviii, 9.) The three figures are divided by trees, which represent the garden. Jesus has His right hand extended, hailing the women, who are in a similar position.

The next scene is

(16.) *Peter's Denial*.—"Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice." (Matt. xxvi, 34.) Our Lord is

on the left, with His right hand extended towards Peter, who has his hands out, as if expostulating. To the right is the cock on a column, the conventional mode of representation.

Then follows

(17.) *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, with Habbacuc bringing him the pottage, taken from the story of Bel and the Dragon. "Then the angel of the Lord took him by the crown, and bare him by the hair of his head." (Apoc. v, 36.) To the left is Habbacuc carrying the tray of food; the angel floats above him, having hold of his hair. To the right is Daniel,* in the character of Orpheus, in a rocky cave, by whose side are an ox and goat; a dog springs towards Habbacuc. This part of the scene is evidently suggested from the story of Ganymede as told by Orpheus. (Ovid, *Met.*, 10, 4.)

The next is a series of long panels; the first to be read from the bottom upwards.

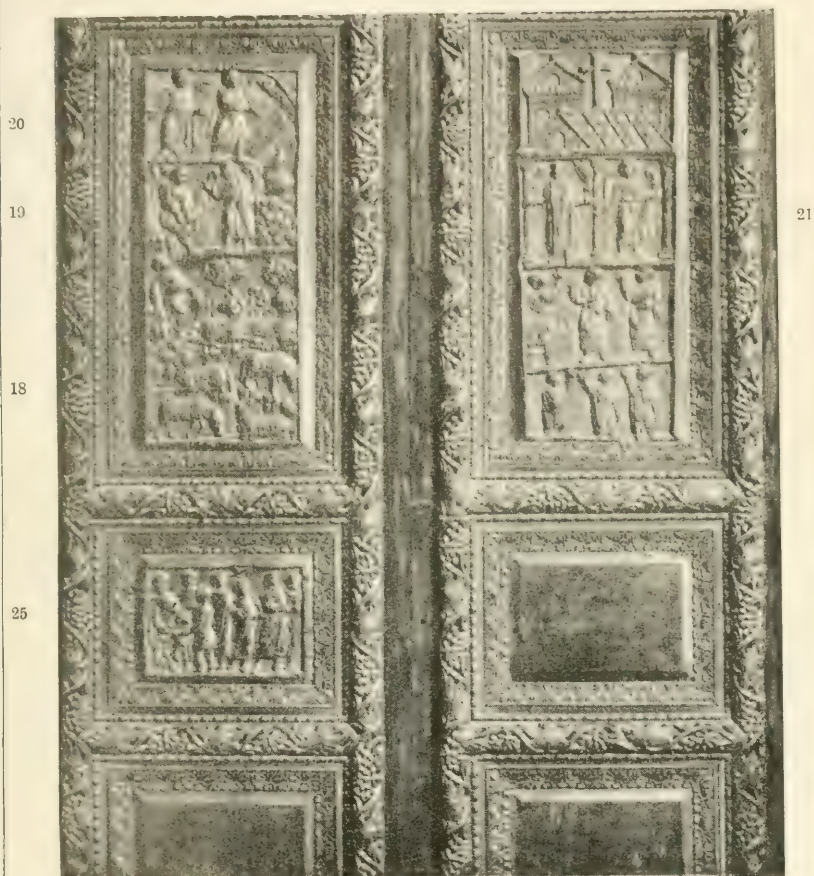
(18.) "*Now Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law.*" (Exodus iii, 1.)—This is the scene at the bottom of the panel. The sheep are well executed, some browsing, some reclining. Moses looks up and sees the burning bush.

(19.) "*Put off thy shoes from off thy feet.*" (Exodus iii, 5.)—The bush is to the right; the Lord, as an angel, addresses Moses, who is seated, taking off his shoes; above are two figures; to the right, the hand of God comes out from the cloud with the roll of the law.

(20.) *Moses receiving the Law*.—"Thou shalt come up, thou, and Aaron with thee." (Exodus xix, 24.) Moses is holding up his cloak to receive the law from the hand of the Almighty.

The next subject is

(21.) *The Story of Zacharias*.—"And there appeared unto him an angel of the Lord, standing on the right side of the altar of incense." (Luke i, 11.) "When he came out he could not speak unto them; and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the temple." (Luke i, 22.) At top is a rectangular church surmounted with a cross; behind it are two tall bell-towers,* probably representing the church of Santa Sabina. Zacharias stands at the



L. Hand.

Bottom.

CARVINGS ON THE DOORS OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA SABINA AT ROME.



entrance with his hands extended ; the angel Gabriel (Luke i, 19) is to the right ; below are two rows of three men in each row, looking up in astonishment.

The next panel shows scenes in Egypt, commencing from the bottom.

(22.) *The first Wonder*.—"For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents, but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods." (Exodus vii, 12.) On the left is Aaron with his rod pointed to the heads of the serpents ; to the right is Pharaoh with his hand upon the hilt of his sword ; between them are two serpents erect upon their tails.

(23.) *Destruction of Pharaoh*.—"The Egyptians are overwhelmed in the sea, whilst (above) the Israelites have safely made the transit ; at the top, on the right, is the hand of God, then the pillar of fire, and on the left the angel of the Lord. (Exodus xiv.)

The next panel represents

(24.) *The Ascension of Elijah*.—"There appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder ; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven." (II Kings ii, 11.) "Elisha took up the mantle of Elijah." (V., 13.) "The sons of the prophets came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him." (V., 15.) This scene is graphically depicted. At the top is an angel with a rod hovering above Elijah, who looks up to him as the chariot ascends. The angel touches his mantle with the rod, and it falls to Elisha below, who is looking up at the strange sight ; beneath Elisha are the sons of the prophets, one bowed down to the ground, the other is turned away in amazement ; the Prophet stands upon a sort of altar.

The two central, small panels of the next row are missing. The first (which remains) at the side represents

(25.) *Jesus before Pilate*.—"He took water and washed his hands before the multitude." (Matt. xxvii, 24.) "They found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name : him they compelled to bear his cross." (V., 32.) Pilate is seated on the left, in front of him is an attendant pouring out the water ; to the right is Jesus, His hands bound, with Simon bearing the cross behind Him.

The last panel represents

(26.) *Christ before Caiaphas*.—Jesus has His hand raised as He stands before the seated high priest, and is evidently saying “Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.” (Matt. xxvi, 64.)

We notice a marked improvement in the hundred years between the earliest Christian relief on the Arch of Constantine, and the reliefs on these doors; and we can also note that the youthful representation of Our Lord on the fourth century sarcophagi has developed into the mature man with beard and moustache, and that His head has become a portrait henceforth accepted as the received type in art.

The natural sequence of the subjects would be—

Daniel	<i>Missing</i>	Adoration	Confession
Moses keeping the Flocks	Scenes in Egypt	Scenes in the Wilderness	Ascension of Elijah
Before Pilate	Peter's Denial	Before Caiaphas	Crucifixion
Story of Zacharias	Miracles in Canaan	Ascension of Christ	Christ and the Church in Glory
Maries at Sepulchre	Christ appearing	<i>Missing</i>	Receiving Santa Sabina

Perhaps the first subject was the Birth of Christ; the second, the Adoration; the third, the Baptism; then the last line would be Daniel (a type of the resurrection), Maries at sepulchre, Christ appearing to them, receiving Santa Sabina.





Bottom.

R. Hand.

CARVINGS ON THE DOORS OF THE CHURCH OF SANTA SABINA AT ROME.





SOME
POINTS OF CONTROVERSY ON THE ROMAN
ROAD NEAR BLACKSTONE EDGE.

BY HENRY COLLEY MARSH, ESQ., M.D., F.S.A.

(Read at the Manchester Congress, 1894.)



HERE are three roads over Blackstone Edge,—(i) the modern road, (ii) an old road still visible in places, and (iii) the paved or Roman road. It was the old road that Ogilby travelled upon and mapped and described in 1675. The paved way was then hardly known. It was probably covered with peat.

In 1732, Horsley, speaking of Roman roads in Britain, says, "When I passed Blackstone Edge I was surprised to see how much the causeway there was below the surface"; and in 1781 Tim Bobbin (John Collier), who was ridiculing Whitaker's account of Roman antiquities in Lancashire, and his description of a Roman road on the Pennine Hills, says "The tops of many of these hills, over which the road must necessarily pass, are so very mossy, boggy, or quaggy, that the spongy surface is entirely impassable for a horse; so there is not the least probability that ever any British, Roman, or English road ever went that way; and had a Roman road taken this course, it must have been cut through on making the new road, which the Romans never excelled for the length of it; yet neither gravelly road, stone pavement, nor any other vestige of any road appeared."

This existent but then unapparent road climbs straight up the hill to an altitude 200 ft. higher than the summit of the other two roads. It is built on a foundation of rubble, and is drained by a deep fosse on each side.

Its cross-section is arched so as to throw water from, and not towards, the centre. It is paved in regular courses, is edged by curb-stones, and is crowned by a line of massive blocks, of which few can weigh less than half a ton. Because the central stones are all hollowed by a longitudinal furrow or trough, they are usually called "the trough-stones"; and it has often been observed that the bottom of this furrow is not *caviform*, but is *convex*. The entire width of the road is 16 ft.; but omitting the lateral curb-stones and the central trough-stones, it may be regarded as consisting of twin roads, each 6 ft. wide.



Roman Road over Blackstone Edge.

Wheel-ruts exist which show a distance between the wheels of $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and a width of tire of about 2 ins. They further show that wagons travelled on the road in three different positions: 1, in the absolute middle, so that the horse walked in the trough or furrow, and so contributed to its excavation; 2, in the middle of each side-road; and 3, in such wise, that whilst one wheel of a wagon

was on one or other of the twin-roads, the other wheel was in the great central groove.

The gradient is considerable, amounting, through a length of 300 yards, to 1 in $4\frac{3}{4}$, which is steeper than the Rigi Railway: hence, when wagons were used, some sort of skidding was imperative.

Such is the road. History carries it back, unused and buried beneath a peaty soil, to 1675. What people before that time, unless the Romans, would have constructed a road so massive, so costly, so entirely Roman in every feature?

But, to show how all these things have been controverted, the following extracts have been made from printed materials:—

Mr. Henry Cunliffe wrote: "No authority exists for attributing the road to Roman origin, and whosoever so refers it incurs the risk of aiding and abetting a delusion." He declared that the stones of the pavement were not laid in courses, that no wheel-ruts were visible upon them, and that the road was made only for horses, who had worn out by their feet (as pack-horses often do) the central furrow.

On the other hand, Mr. J. Wilson, of Kendal, wrote: "The idea of files of laden pack-horses keeping to a narrow, slippery channel in travelling up and down a steep hill with a gradient of 1 in 5, when there was the choice of a broad paved way with good foothold at each side, seems absurd, and of all the theories that have been put forward is the most unlikely."

Mr. Cunliffe rejoined that, "A hundred years ago, when there was no other way of communication for passengers or traffic, it must have been a very busy route. The stones were most probably placed there to fill up a miry trough caused by incessant trampling, and to form a new footpath for long strings of horses. A horse's step", he continues, "is inward as well as downward, and this action would tend to make the groove narrower as it deepened; and the dished sides at the bottom are caused by the scraping of the oval-shaped shoe. By these means the harder stones are bevelled downwards, whilst the softer stones bevel upwards."

Mr. Cunliffe further published carefully chosen sections of the furrow on four genuine pack-horse tracks, which naturally bore much resemblance to the Roman-road furrow, in which horses have certainly walked; but all four of them were destitute of the peculiar convex base.

Dr. Torrop of Heywood, also thought that "the road was built at two different times. First, the central stones were put down, and a causey formed, which was used by pack-horses, and afterwards a wide road on each side was paved for wagons."

Of those who have stoutly held that the trough-stones were originally hollowed by the hand of man, some averred that this was done to provide a channel or drain for water. Others rejected this view, like Mr. John Carrie of Bolton, who wrote, "the groove is undoubtedly man's handiwork, and was constructed to hold in position a trolly or low wagon."

And Mr. Thompson Watkin, author of *Roman Lancashire*, who said "the groove is plainly the work of a stonemason", also thought it was contrived to hold in place the central wheel of a special kind of carriage.

Mr. Watts, the practical engineer of the Oldham Waterworks, declared that "much labour had been bestowed in forming the central channel or groove"; and he further believed that the trough was constructed in order to form a "*guide-track for vehicles*, one wheel being run in the furrow, to prevent the horse from dragging the wagon off the road at night, or in foggy weather."

Mr. Morgan Brierley of Saddleworth, who was of the same opinion, added that it would be "a security against vehicles slipping off the road when it was coated with ice."

Lieut.-Col. Sharratt wrote: "It is the work of the mason's chisel, imitating on hard stone the tread of the human foot upon softer substances; and the groove was excavated to fit the pliable Roman sandal, so as to serve for a *guide-track* in which a competent official should be able, during the darkness of night, to direct the course of Roman soldiers over the swampy mountain."

The undisputed fact that a furrow with a central convexity can be worn by human feet led Mr. G. Esdaile to believe that the groove was entirely formed in that way.

"The Roman soldier", he argued, "wore a heavy, nail-shod, wooden shoe; and the common people wore clogs, also well nailed; and these, walking on the central stones, wore out the trough."

That the crowning line of massive stones was laid down as a footpath for mankind was also the view of Mr. Chas. Renshaw, who considered that "the convexity of the furrow was caused by the tread of human feet, the portion between the feet sustaining less wear and tear."

A very different explanation, advanced by C. C. S., was that "the groove was made for a chain to run in, by which means the ascending wagon was drawn up, assisted by the descending wagon on the other side of the Edge, the whole being regulated by a horse-gin at the top."

Mr. James Dronsfield of Oldham, thought that the appearances were caused by the use of "a frost-chain of square links, about 2 ft. long, which in some places is fastened in front of a locked wheel, and so acts as a brake. This would account for the groove's doubly furrowed base, as sometimes one wheel would be scotched, and sometimes another."

Mr. A. C. Haire observed that in certain parts of the country, "instead of using skids when descending a hill with loaded carts, they attach to the tail of the cart, by a chain, a kind of rough sledge filled with stones. This would produce a groove similar to the one in question."

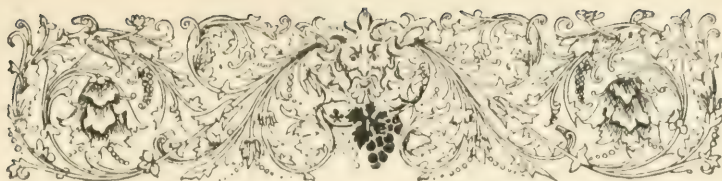
J. S. of Heywood, said "it is plain, upon examination, that the groove is artificial, and it appears to have been formed by some kind of friction, caused probably by the wheels of small trollies for carrying stone from quarries on the top of the hill."

Lastly, Mr. Fred. Moorhouse wrote that "in Halifax the sides of a portion of two old, narrow, steep streets, Russell Street and Gaol Lane, are paved with large blocks, about the same size as those forming the channel at Blackstone Edge. Through the action and wear of skidded cartwheels they present, in many places, a similar trough to that on the Roman road. The resemblance is very striking to any one who has seen both."

The present writer has pointed out that, although

some kind of skidding was necessarily practised, no sign of it can be detected in the wheel-ruts, and that any such indication must be looked for in the central trough. By taking the middle one of the three ruts that exist on each side-way, and by measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. inwards, it is evident that the companion of the wheel that made it must have travelled in the central furrow, and yet no corresponding wheel-rut is there visible. The furrow, however, in almost every part of it, bears witness to a planing action. There is no breaking away of the edges of contiguous stones, as in pack-horse tracks. Faint groovings are to be seen, especially on the sides of the furrow, which pass from stone to stone. These lateral striations are more marked sometimes on the one side and sometimes on the other side of the furrow. The floor of the furrow is usually not cup-shaped, but presents two longitudinal hollows, of which one is often deeper than the other; and many of the quartz pebbles that stud the gritstone, so far from having been knocked out, as in pack-horse tracks, by the feet of horses, are manifestly worn down by attrition. These are some of the facts which make it probable that the wheel which travelled in the central trough was braked or skidded.





VISITATIONS OF THE PLAGUE IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

(Read at the Manchester Congress, 1894.)



URING the Middle Ages, and indeed far into the modern period, Europe was subject to awful visitations of disease which are referred to under the general name of plague and pestilence, although the successive epidemics may not have been, and in some instances we know were not, identical in character. The bubo-plague, however, has a recorded existence in this country from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, and Lancashire and Cheshire shared in the Black Death, and in one slight instance in the plague of 1665. More than fifty visitations of plague between these two dates are recorded. Lancashire generally is said to have suffered in 1349, 1485, and 1500, and no doubt both counties were involved in the calamity of the Black Death. The plague visited Blackburn and Bolton in 1623; Chester in 1507, 1517, 1551, 1558, 1574, 1603, 1605, 1610, 1647, and 1654; Cockerham in 1650; Congleton in 1603 and 1641; Dalton, Biggar, and Walney in 1631; Hawkshead in 1577; Kirkham in 1630; Lancaster in 1423; Liverpool in 1540, 1558, 1610, 1647-8, 1650, and 1661; Macclesfield in 1603, 1605, and 1646; Malpas in 1625; Manchester in 1565, 1588, 1594, 1605, 1608, 1631, and 1645; Nantwich in 1604; Northwich in 1576; Preston in 1562 and 1630; Rochdale in 1623; Stockport in 1605; Tarvin in 1608

and 1654; Ulverston in 1551; Whiston in 1652; and Wilmslow in 1665. For some of the visitations there are many details, both as to the extent of the mortality and as to the methods by which the authorities sought to remedy or mitigate the evil. There are also particulars as to the precautions taken in some years when plague was apprehended, but, fortunately, did not appear. Nor are these notes at all likely to be exhaustive, for the accidental character of the records is very striking, and more data will certainly reward further search. Thus, of the pestilences that preceded the Black Death there are no local records, and only one solitary Lancashire document remains regarding that visitation which more than decimated the population, which emptied towns, which left lands and farms derelict, and had important results, social, religious, and economical.¹

The Black Death, which travelled westward by the trade routes, reached England at Melcombe Regis in the autumn of 1348, and its spread was facilitated by continuous wet weather from midsummer to Christmas. The benefices in the dioceses of Chester were about seventy in number, and from June to September 1349, there were thirty institutions. In August there was a new prioress at St. Mary's, Chester, and a new prior at Norton. In Bucklow manor there were 215 acres of arable land lying waste in 1350, and for which no tenants could be found. Forty-six tenants had died of the plague, and thirty-four were in arrears. One-third of the rent was remitted on this manorial estate. In 1350 there was a disputed account between the Dean of Amounderness and the Archdeacon of Richmond as to fees received between September 1349, and January 11th, 1350. The record alleges that there died at Preston 3,000 persons; at Kirkham 3,000; at Pulton 800; at

¹ The authorities for this paper are:—Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*; Gasquet's *Great Pestilence*; Baines's *Lancashire*; Ormerod's *Cheshire*; Earwaker's *East Cheshire*; Picton's *Liverpool*; Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*; Hall's *Nantwich*; Head's *Congleton*; *Manchester Court Leet Records* and *Manchester Constable's Accounts*, ed. by Earwaker; *English Historical Review* 1890-91, etc.; Creighton's *Hist. of Epidemics*; etc.

Lancaster 3,000 ; at Garstang 2,000 ; at Cockerham 1,000 ; at Lytham 140 ; at St. Michael's-on-Wyre 80 ; at Pulton 60. Probably of the two Pultons the first is Poulton, near Lancaster, and the second Poulton-le-Fylde. But, unfortunately, no reliance can be placed on these figures, nor can their manifest exaggeration be reduced by any definite system into credible proportions. The chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, Preston, remained unserved for six weeks, and nine benefices were vacated. At Lytham the priory was vacant, as was that of Cartmel. One curious glimpse of the economic condition of Lancashire we obtain from the famous Statute of Labourers, which was passed to prevent the increase of wages arising from the scarcity of labourers caused by the Black Death. While prohibiting workmen from leaving their homes in search of higher pay, the statute makes some exceptions. In common with the men of the counties of Stafford and Derby, the people of Craven, and those of the Welsh and Scotch Marches, the Lancashire labourers were allowed to go elsewhere in search of employment during the harvest "as they were wont before this time", and as the Irish harvestmen do at this day. Hollingworth records that in 1352 the churchyard of Didsbury was dedicated for the burial of such as died of the plague in that and the adjoining hamlet, on account of the distance from the parish church of Manchester. Unless there is a mistake in the date, this is not easy to understand, as Dr. Creighton declares that "from 1349 to 1361 there is no record of pestilence in England".

As a typical epidemic, we may take the plague in Manchester in 1645. By an ordinance of Parliament, dated December 9th, 1645, it appears that it had raged with such violence that for many months none had been permitted to come in or go out of the town. Its effects had been so dreadful that the ordinance says : "Most of the inhabitants living upon trade are not only ruined in their estates, but many families are like to perish for want, who cannot sufficiently be relieved by that miserably wasted country." In relief of their distressed situation, a collection, by order of Parliament, was made for the poor of Manchester in all the churches and chapels

of London and Westminster. The registers of the Collegiate Church show the ravages of this epidemic :— Burials in 1644, October 21, November 38, December 28, January 18, February 22 ; 1645, March 20, April 24, May 61, June 135, July 172, August 310, September 266, October 112, November 49, December 23, January 11, February 28 ; 1646, March 14, April 12, May 5, June 10, July 8, August 12, September 6. The number of funerals on particular days shows how deadly were the results :—

1645, August	9th,	19	funerals.
"	"	22nd,	20 "
"	"	28th,	18 "
„ September	2nd,	28	„

There is a memorandum made in August : “ There was no more christening in this month [there had been only one] by reason of the extremitie of the sicknesses.” The remark is made in September that “ The same reason is to be given in respect to this month.” In October we are told—“ The extremitie of the sicknesse was the cause why baptisme was altogether deferred this whole month”. And on November 11th, 1645, it is noted—“ Alice, daughter of James Bradshaw of Manchester, bap. att Chorlton in the sickness time.” In the marriage register for September is this remark :—“ There was not anie at all by reason of the sicknesse was soe greate.” The Rev. Adam Martindale, in his “ Autobiography”, has this anecdote of his mother-in-law :—“ A publick fast day was held at Blackley chappell on the behalf of poor Manchester. The place of reception being very strait for so great a congregation, this good woman and another who was also a fashionable person had but one seate betweene them, so they sometimes stood and sometimes sate by turns, and at night the other woman died of the plague : which I have heard my mother-in-law say never put her into any fright, but being satisfied she was in her way of duty she confidently cast herself on God’s protection and was accordingly preserved.” The following entries in the constable’s accounts illustrate this epidemic :— “ November 22 [1645] Reed fro ye Countie in ye tyme of the visitation for wich we haue given an accompte to

ye Justices 918-00-00." "July 11, 1645, pd souldiers for goinge to Collihurst to reforme disorders there 00-02-00." Mr. Earwaker thinks that there must have been some disturbance at the plague cabins there located. "Sept. 26, pd. to Doctor Smith for his charges to London and a free guift, 04-00-00. Pd. Doctor Smith for pte of his wages for his serviece in ye tyme of visitaion 39-00-00." "Dec. 16, pd. Tho. Minshule for apothecarie stuffe for ye townies service 06-02-06." "Feb. 14, 1645-6, pd. Roger Haddocke for gatheringe up ye Counties money for our infected poore 05-01-00. Pd. that was charged upon the town in ye visitaion 32-09-03." Among those who suffered most from this visitation was the family of John Radcliffe, of the Pool, a moated hall, the site of which is indicated by the name of Pool Fold. Two of his children, William and Mary, were buried on the 13th June in that year; of the five children he names in his will, all but the youngest, Sarah, were buried within the next fortnight. His will is dated 19th June, and is written entirely in the testator's own hand, even the witnesses to this document not daring to come nearer to the infected house than "the west side of the poole". From this position "they saw and heard" the plague-stricken man "signe, seale, and publish" the same in their presence, but separated from them by the width of the moat. John Radcliffe was buried at the Collegiate Church on the 28th June, his only surviving son and heir on 30th of June, his younger daughter (Margaret) on 27th of June, his eldest daughter (Anne) on 1st July. His youngest daughter, Sarah, became her father's sole heiress, and carried his estates into the family of Alexander of Manchester. She was, at the time of the plague, only three years of age, and was the only survivor of a family of eleven children, born between 1629 and 1642. The great plague of 1665 did not affect the provinces so greatly as some preceding epidemics, but there is a gravestone at Lindow Common which marks the resting-place of E. Stonaw, who died, as the Wilmslow register states, 17th July, at her own house, "she being suspected to die of the plague, she but coming home the day before".

The causes of the extinction of the plague in this country are probably to be sought in the general improvement in sanitation and in the mode of life of the people. There can be no doubt that the pestilence found powerful allies within the communities it decimated. There is still much to be done, but enormous progress has been made in the direction of rendering town life healthier than it was in the "good old times".





THE HILL OF TARA.

BY R. H. McDONALD, ESQ.

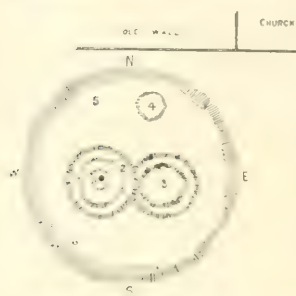
(Read February 20th, 1895.)



AM a great deal indebted in the following paper, which only attempts roughly to deal with a very wide subject, to the Rev. Denis Hanan, Rector of Tipperary, a very clever Irish archæologist, who is the prime instigator and chief worker in the explorations at Tara now under consideration, and a good deal of the descriptive portions of the paper is from materials furnished by him after a visit to Tara, published in an article in the *Banner of Israel*, in 1886. Explorations are contemplated at this historic spot very shortly, and, whatever the results, which undoubtedly will be rich from the archæologist's point of view, they will mainly be due to the untiring efforts of this gentleman, who for years has been working with a view to these excavations.

Tara, as it is *now* called, or Tarah, Teamhair, Tea-mur, Taragh, and Teamhrah, as it has variously been called by Irish historians and bards, is a hill of no great height, about twenty-four miles from Dublin, and is celebrated as having been for centuries the site of the fortress or palace, and the coronation place of the ancient kings of Ireland. It, and the hill of Skreen, are almost the only breaks on the flat monotony of the surrounding country. Tara is a verdant, moundish, flowing, outlined mass, about three-quarters of a mile in length from north to south, and rather less than half a mile in extreme breadth. It is covered with earthworks of the kind common in Ireland, namely, circular raths or forts, and on the mound in the centre of the principal of these is a monumental pillar, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high, and buried at least

3 ft. deep in the ground, which is the celebrated Liafail, or Stone of Destiny, and disputes this title with the smaller stone now enshrined in the coronation chair at Westminster Abbey. Perhaps it would be as well to



attach here a rough tracing of Dr. Hanan's plan of Tara. The earthworks are, as already mentioned, mostly circular, but there is one long narrow excavation which is called "Tara's Hall". The chief interest in these raths, however, centres in those on the southern side of an old stone wall, which crosses the hill from the church-

yard, and divides Earl Russell's property from the Preston property.

1. Rath of the King, or Rath na Riogh, known since 1798 as the "Croppies' Grave" (from fifty croppies or prisoners, whose ears were slit before they were let free, and who afterwards were buried in a trench on the top of this mound in the rebellion of 1798, having been shot down in making a stand here). On this now stands the Liafail, or Stone of Destiny, which was formerly on No. 4.

2. The Forradh.

3. King Cormath's rath.

4. The crowning mound, from which the Liafail was removed to No. 1.

5. Site of a mound similar to No. 4, removed for top-dressing grazing land.

6. The invisible and doubtful site of Tea Tephi's tomb, mentioned by Petrie.

The early history of the Hill of Tara is shrouded in a great deal of obscurity, as the accounts of how it got its name are rather confusing. From the earliest times, however, it was an important place, and the Liafail was placed there, according to old records, by a colony of Scythians, called the Tuatha de Danans, who are supposed by some to have been the Tribe of Dan. This Liafail now at Tara is, as already mentioned, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high. It is about 5 ft. round. Probably the Liafail now at

Westminster was originally a stepping-stone to this one, or even a portion of it. Dr. Petrie says that the one at Tara is of granular limestone, but Dr. Hanan does not agree with him, as it is harder than limestone. The tradition was that this crowning stone groaned when the rightful heir was crowned on it, but was silent when pretenders sat upon it, and wherever the Liafail went, there the kingdom would be transferred. It is hardly necessary here to enter into the well-known accounts of the Liafail. Certainly, however, it is curious to note that when Fergus I crossed to Scotland, and was crowned there in the year of the world 3641, or 330 B.C., that his brother sent the smaller stone to him in Argyll, from whence Kenneth removed it to Scone, and Edward I of England afterwards carried it to Westminster to defeat the tradition, but did not succeed, for James VI, a lineal descendant of Fergus, subsequently succeeded to the English throne, and since then Westminster has been the seat of British Empire, and the stone removed from Tara 330 B.C. remains to-day, a striking link with the past of these islands. The original name of Tara was Druien Caien, or the "Hill of Caen", a man's name, and one account says it was selected by Tea, the wife of Heremon, one of the sons of Miletius the Greek, who conquered and wrested Ireland from the Tuatha de Danans. According to this story the sons of Miletius arrived in Ireland in 120 cuili, in "the age of the world" 3500. Nennius, a British writer, says 1029 B.C., on the 17th May, and Phillip O'Sullevane, who dedicated his history to Phillip IV of Spain, says 1342 B.C. In a note to Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, it says, "Tea, daughter of Lughaidh, son of Ith, whom Eremhon married in Spain to the repudiation of Odhba, was the Tea who requested of Eremhon a choice hill as her dower, in whatever place she should select it, that she might *be interred therein*, and her *mound and gravestone* might thereon be raised, and where every prince ever to be born of her race should dwell. The hill she selected was Druien Caien. It is from her it was called, and *in it she was interred*." It is difficult to reconcile the accounts of Tea's appearance in Ireland, and I believe

in another edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, she is supposed to have arrived here 800 B.C., accompanied by Ollam Fodhla and Simon Burgh. Ollam Fodhla was a wise man, a seer or law giver, who is said to have ruled Ireland, and to have first instituted the Feis Teamhrach, or Feast of Tara, which afterwards became a triennial gathering of the kings and learned men of Ireland. He is stated also to have compiled the then existing histories of the country, and to have founded and collected a book of laws which was called the *Psalter of Tara*. Simon Burgh was his scribe.¹ He also founded colleges at Tara. There is no doubt that the ancient Irish were very learned, even the Tuatha de Danans, who had preceded the sept of Heremon, being accredited as magicians, because of their knowledge of arts and sciences. Later on the origin of the name Tara and the mystery of its mounds were lost sight of. Tradition said they contained the Ark, as well as the body of Tea; and in A.D. 513 a great gathering of kings, bards, and grandees assembled at Tara to collect up the fragments of its history. Nothing could be gathered more than that it was connected with a woman who came across the great plain (probably in the original Magh Rein—the plain of the sea), that she was a daughter of Pharaoh (*i.e.*, a princess from Egypt), with “a royal prosperous smile”. A poem or record was then composed by King Dermot’s chief bard (this was Dermot, who reigned in the sixth century) from information chiefly communicated by an old sage named Fintan. A literal translation of this appears in one edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, p. 294, and the following lines occur:—

“Until the coming of the agreeable Teah,
The wife of Heremon of noble aspect,

.

“A rampart was raised about her house (mur)
For Teah, the daughter of Lughaidh.
She was buried outside in her mound
And from her it (Cathair Corofin) was named Tea-Mur.”²

¹ Said to be Jeremiah the prophet, and Baruch his scribe.

² Tea-Mur house, or palace or town of Tea.

Five hundred years later a ballad, probably founded on the preceding, and other early ones, was composed by a celebrated Bard, and one time Regent of Ireland, Cu-an-O'Cochlain (A.D. 1024). According to this :—

“ It gave great happiness to the women
When Tea-mur the strong was erected and named.

Where, after her death, was Tea's monument,
Which structure perpetuated her fame.

“ Bregia of Tea was a delightful abode,
On record as a place of great renown,
It contains the grave, the Great Mergech,
A sepulchre which has not been violated.

“ The daughter of Pharaoh of many champions,
Tephi, ‘ the most beautiful ’ that traversed the plain,
Here formed a fortress circular and strong
Which she described with her breast-pin and wand.

“ It may be related without reserve
That a mound was raised over Tephi as recorded,
And she lies buried beneath this unequalled tomb,
Here formed for this mighty Queen.

“ The length and breadth of the tomb of Tephi,
Accurately measured by the sages,
Was sixty feet of exact measure,
As prophets and Druids have related.

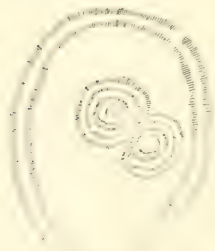
“ Sixty feet of correct admeasurement
Was marked as a sepulchre to enshrine her.”

Mergech is a Hebrew word meaning sepulchre or resting-place, and is an important link for those who trace in Tea Tephi, who came from Egypt in 800 B.C., the daughter of Zedekiah, who disappeared there eight years before. Tara may or may not have derived its name from her, but it is certain that Teamhair is the name of several hills in Ireland. “ Tara”, says Dr. Hanan, is almost pure Hebrew for Torah, which means “ law”, and the original tables of the law were in the ark which, curiously enough, Irish history says is buried with Tea. Again, the ancient laws of Ireland were issued from Tara. The incident of Tea drawing a plan of the fortress with her breast-pin is told also of another Queen

on another hill. So much for the early history of Tara. Here for centuries was the seat of Ireland's learning, of her great conventions, of many battles and struggles for the crown, and no spot in Ireland is more celebrated in song or story, so that every foot of the soil ought to yield archaeological treasure. It is important to notice it as described in 1024 as "involute" because the underground place in a rath (on a smaller scale) is a great feature in Irish archæology. They are generally approached by the top, but many were rifled in very early times by the Danes, who found they were receptacles for gold vessels and other treasure, and some of them explored by the Irish Society of Antiquaries showed traces of this early violation.

To return to the present features of Tara and the plan already shown; when the Liafail was removed from the mound, marked 4, and placed on No. 1, it was put over the Croppies' grave, and a rude R.I.P. appears on it above two circular seal marks sunk about a foot deep and of greater antiquity. The mound on which it is placed is the centre of the principal earthworks known as the Rath na Riogh or Cathair Corofin, which appear to have been the site of Tea's fortress or palace. It surrounds the larger of the two hills. There is a large outer ring, and in it two central raths which intersect,

but, according to Dr. Hanan, the western is the older rath as its outer circle has been cut into to form the eastern. The western rath is surrounded by a double ditch, and the central part is a raised mound on which now stands the Liafail. The eastern rath has only one trench round it, and the centre is depressed. Dr. Petrie thus describes the supposed site of Tea's tomb:—"The next important monument noticed is that called Tea Mur; of this there is now no vestige, but its situation is pointed out as a little hill which lies between the two murs (septa) to the south of Rath na Reogh, and the poem of Kinneth O'Hartigan



Rath na Riogh or
Cathair Corofin.



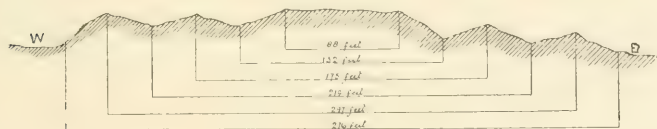
Rath Laochanair.

indicates that it was 60 ft. in extent and contained within it the sepulchre of the Milesian Queen Tea." I take this to be the point marked 6 on Dr. Hanan's plan; on the other hand, some archæologists place it as at the point of intersection between the two raths which would be "outside" Tea's house as the poem states, and perhaps it is this he refers to. I attach a very rough tracing from Dr. Petrie's book supplied by a friend, and this shows the supposed site of the tomb at the red spot in the centre of the point of intersection of the two raths.

Dr. Hanan, with very good grounds for so doing, fixes the spot as under the great central mound in the western rath, on which the Liafail now stands. The reasons he gives for selecting this spot, the place now known as the "Croppies' grave", are very sensible. They are as follows :—

"The Croppies' grave is the largest and oldest of the earthworks and the most carefully constructed. It alone has the raised centre, and the size suits the traditional dimensions of the tomb. Section from Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara* :—

SECTION FROM PETRIE'S TARA



"Thus it will be seen that the central mound is 88 ft. in diameter. Cu-an-O'Coelain's poem states that the tomb was 60 ft. in circumference, *i.e.*, 20 ft. in diameter; supposing this to be the inside measurement, and that the walls were, say, 6 ft., the whole 32 ft. could be covered up in the 88 ft. and leave 28 ft. of earthwork surrounding. It is almost impossible to estimate the original height of ancient earthworks—probably they were at least twice as deep and as steep as they are now. The central mound in question is about 12 ft. over the present level of the surrounding foss. If it was originally twice as high there would be ample room for a lofty chamber under the superimposed clay."

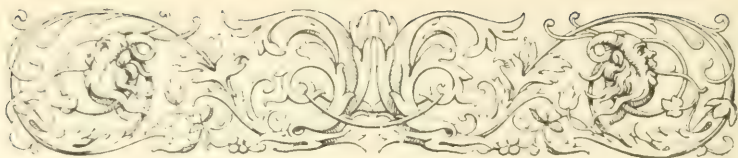
To search for this tomb is the primary object of the exploration which I trust we shall soon see being carried out at Tara. The Rev. Denis Hanan has secured the

promise of funds to carry out the work, and he proposes driving a shaft or tunnel for 28 ft. through the clay of the central mound in the Rath na Riogh. This would not injure the mound, or disturb the Croppies' grave, which would have to be done if an entry was made from the top, as has been the case in similar raths. He thinks that a shaft of only 14 ft. would touch masonry from indications that he saw there. Thanks to the co-operation of the Marchioness of Waterford, now, alas, seriously ill, and unable, at any rate for the present, to take an active share in the work, the permission of Lord Russell has been obtained¹ to drive this shaft on his land, but negotiations have yet to be settled with the tenant, the chosen spot being on a farm in the occupation of the Widow Cullen. From an archæological point of view, whether or no the immediate object of the search is attained, this particular mound offers a fruitful field for exploration. Other cairns in the same county, though evidently entered many years before, yielded much of interest, and the Royal Irish Academy has in its museum a collection of gold ornaments said to be unrivalled. Nor is it creating a new precedent to rely upon the poems of Irish bards for indications of sepulchral remains and objects of interest buried. In a translation, published in Dublin in 1764, from the Latin of Sir Jas. Ware on the "Antiquities of Ireland", there are instances of searches made with good results for gold plates mentioned as buried in a certain place by ancient poems. I believe this is taken from Camden. At any rate, so much has centred upon and around Tara, that Dr. Hanan's explorations must be productive of some results of importance, not merely to the Irish archæologist, but to our nation as a whole, for our own royal house trace their descent in a direct and unbroken line from Tea and Heremon, and the kings who reigned at Tara: while, as already noticed, the stone under the Coronation Chair is a direct link with Tara's past, 330 years B.C. Even if Dr. Hanan is wrong in his assumption that beneath this

¹ Sept. 1895. Since this was written, an unaccountable temporary block has come from this direction, Major Hamilton, Lord Russell's agent, having intimated the withdrawal of Lord Russell's sanction.

central mound will be found the tomb referred to so often in Irish history, he will only need to drive a second shaft at right angles to the point of intersection of the raths to what I myself think is very probably the spot "outside" which is referred to. I trust that I have not trespassed unduly upon the attention of members of the B. A. A. in this paper, and I would refer those interested in the subject to Dr. Petrie's book, *The Antiquities of Tara*, for further information. If, as I hope, the present block in the plan of operations is speedily removed, I trust that the British Archæological Association will be represented at the works, and encourage, as far as possible, any excavations on such splendid ground for archæological research. I am satisfied that Ireland, with a civilisation much more ancient than is generally supposed, has yet to yield us most valuable and interesting discoveries, which will throw a brilliant light on the history of our past, and which but await the careful and patient search of the archæologist.





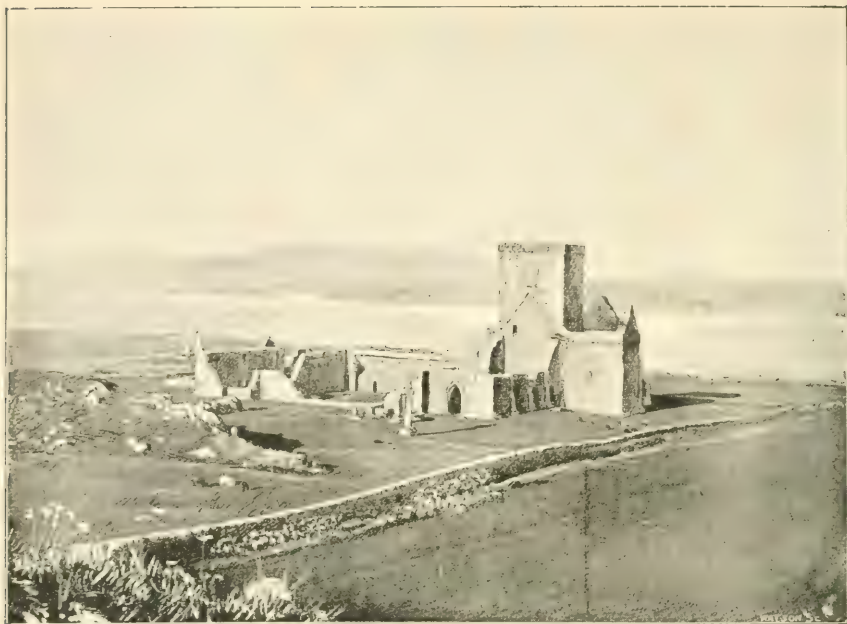
Obituary.

THE REV. R. E. HOOPPELL, Rector of Byer's Green, Durham, had been in failing health for some months, and died at Bournemouth on August 23rd, in his sixty-third year. He was born and educated in London, and at Cambridge was a Sizar of St. John's College, taking his degree as a Wrangler in 1855, and First Class in Moral Science in 1856. After being Second and Mathematical Master at Beaumaris Grammar School, he was appointed, in 1861, to be the first Head Master of Dr. Winterbottom's Marine School at South Shields. In 1868 he proceeded to the Degree of LL.D. of Cambridge, and on becoming Rector of Byer's Green in 1875, received the *ad eundem* D.C.L. of Durham.

The discovery of Roman remains at South Shields greatly revived that intense delight in antiquarian research which had been a marked trait in his character from boyhood, and which led to such interesting and important discoveries and studies as those to which he devoted much attention in later years.

In 1878 came the absorbing revelations at Vinovia (Binchester), situated between Bishop Auckland and Byer's Green, about which he wrote a deeply interesting book entitled "Vinovia, the Buried Roman City in the County of Durham, as Revealed by the Recent Explorations, 1879," and dedicated it to the generous owner and explorer, Mr. John Proud of Bishop Auckland. In 1879 he visited Escombe Church, and first recognised its Saxon character. About this and many other antiquities in the county Dr. Hooppell wrote many books and pamphlets, some of which were issued and illustrated by our Association, which visited both Escombe and Binchester during the Darlington and Bishop Auckland Congress in the summer of 1886, when Dr. Hooppell exhibited and explained the remarkable archaeological features of these two ancient remains to a large party of members.





IONA, GENERAL VIEW OF THE BUILDINGS.



IONA, CATHEDRAL.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

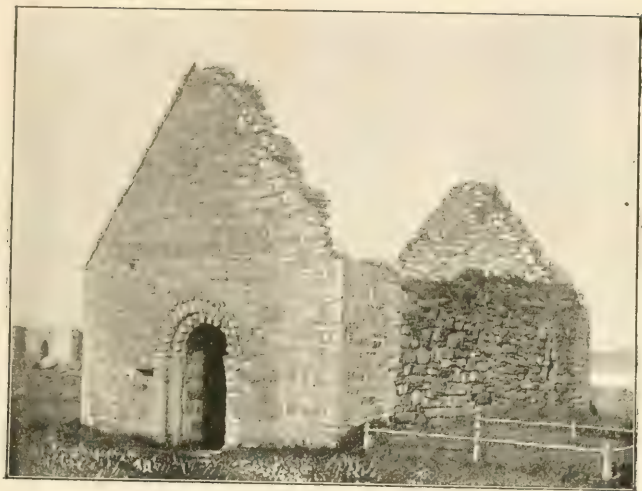
Ancient Towers and Doorways, being Pictorial Representations and Restorations of Masoncraft Relating to Early Scottish Pre-Norman and Norman Ecclesiology. (From pen drawings by the late ALEXANDER GALLETTY, First Curator of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, with biographical sketch and descriptive letterpress, by ANDREW TAYLOR.)—These sketches of ancient Scottish ecclesiastical edifices, and their details, so deftly reproduced in photo-lithography by Messrs. MacLagan and Cumming, are no mere holiday work of an amateur, but the handiwork of one skilled in practical architecture and stone masonry. Mr. Galletty had such a preliminary training ere beginning what was to be his life work in the Edinburgh Museum in 1854. The late Professor George Wilson made the collection of materials used in building a prominent feature in the new museum he inaugurated. Besides, his curator had repeatedly to be superintending clerk of works—whether in arranging temporary premises, or in the erection through years of the palatial home in Chambers Street. Architectural form, whether on its practical or æsthetic side, thus became Mr. Galletty's ruling passion, dominating alike holiday and leisure time. The thirty sketches about to be published immediately, fragments of a larger plan, embracing illustrations of other Scottish cathedrals, are the outcome of numerous visits to the special site; the taking of careful measurements, often not without peril; and the free use of photography for the special needs of the sketch in hand.

The full-page drawings include: The Round Tower at Abernethy, in Perthshire; the Round Tower and adjacent doorway of the church at Brechin; the Round Tower and ruined church at Egilsay, in Orkney; the Square Tower of Dunning, in Perthshire; the Square Tower and attached building at Muthil, in Perthshire; the Square Tower of Markinch, in Fifeshire; the south elevation and details of St. Regulus Tower, St. Andrew's; a restored doorway of elaborate Norman style at Kirkliston; two magnificent doorways of Jedburgh Abbey, of the most interesting character; the doorway in the west front of Kelso Abbey, and another in the North Transept, having over it an elegant

intersecting arcade, above which is a kind of triangular pediment filled in with lattice squares, a beautiful creation of twelfth-century inspiration: the zigzag and fluted pillars of Dunfermline Abbey, reminding us of Durham and other noble edifices of the same century; an interesting doorway at St. Oran's Chapel, in Iona; the east end of Coldingham Priory, a work almost Romanesque in its general *ensemble*, and certainly severely Cistercian in its details; the chancel and the Tower of Peterhead church; a doorway at St. Blane's, in the Isle of Bute; three views, and as many plates of details, of the Cathedral of St. Magnus, Kirkwall; and a south-east view and the chancel and apse of Leuchars Church, in Fifeshire. The text of this work will also contain upwards of thirty drawings of kindred subjects, some of which we have been enabled to reproduce here as specimens of the care and judgment shown by the editor in selecting representative examples of Scottish church art in the pre-Roman and Norman periods: viz., a general view of the ancient buildings at Iona; the south-east view of the Cathedral, showing the massive tower and other details; St. Oran's Chapel at Iona; the arcaded interior of the Cistercian Nunnery at Coldingham; and an elaborately sculptured archway at Lanington, in Lanarkshire. With such a wealth of illustration this work becomes a portfolio of typical gems of Northern ecclesiastical and conventional architecture; and we feel sure that not only architects and antiquaries, to whom it is an indispensable test book, but also general lovers of what is beautiful as well as ancient, to whom it suggests new fancies and fresh channels for rapture and veneration, will never regret their acquisition of Mr. TAYLOR's book.

Intending subscribers are requested to send their names and addresses to Mr. Andrew Taylor, F.C.S., M.M.S., 11, Lutton Place, Edinburgh. The work is limited to an edition of three hundred copies at a subscription of one guinea. It will be of imperial quarto size, on plate paper.

Cratfield Parish Accounts.—The late Rev. William Holland, B.A., rector of Huntingfield, Suffolk, has left behind a large collection of transcripts of ancient parochial accounts. Those of the parish of Cratfield, which reach back to the days of Henry VII, have been selected for publication, under the editorship of the Rev. Canon Raven, D.D., F.S.A., Rector of Fressingfield, and will be published by Messrs. Jarrold and Sons, of 10 and 11, Warwick Lane, E.C. To each year's accounts Mr. Holland has appended historical notes, so that the affairs of this remote village are a microcosm. The stirring events of the Tudor period, as, for example, the martyrdom in the



IONA, ST. ORAN'S CHAPEL.



COLDINGHAM NUNNERY, INTERIOR.



DOORWAY AT LAMINGTON, LANARKSHIRE.

village of Laxfield, adjacent to Cratfield, Lady Jane Grey's rebellion, and the Armada, find valuable and interesting illustrations which are continued in the forthcoming volume to the year 1642. Among the more important items are those relating to the Parish Guild, an institution which has left its mark behind it in the shape of many a Guildhall and Chantry. The simple expedient of huge feasts by which surplus cash was disposed of, in the prospect of visits from Tudor officials in search of goods for the Augmentation office, may be read unglossed here. Many names occur, of course, of the old local families, some now extinct in East Anglia, but not unrepresented in the New England States. The retention of the ancient spelling is not without its philological use.

The work will be published by subscription at 15s. by Messrs. Jarrold and Sons.

A History of Devonshire, with Sketches of its Leading Worthies. By R. N. WORTH, Esq. (E. Stock, London.)—The issue of a cheap edition of this deservedly popular work will be accepted with gratitude by a large circle of readers. The county is second to none in its wealth of antiquities and its numerous associations with the history of our country, and Mr. Worth has touched on the more salient and prominent points in a way which shows he is thoroughly conversant with his chosen theme. Of course the history of Devonshire would not be wholly told in scores of such volumes as that before us, but the reader of this one will obtain a very good idea of the absorbing history of the county by a careful perusal of its pages.

Lambourn.—Two interesting additions have recently been placed in Lambourn Church, Berkshire. The first is a beautiful specimen of 16th-century painted glass. This was purchased at the Lambourn Place sale by P. C. Sergt. Smith, who has most generously presented it to the church, and it now adorns the centre of the three-light side window of the north chapel. The date on the glass is 1532, and it consists of the figure of St. John-the-Evangelist, and is most delicately and beautifully painted. The canopy work is rich and elaborate in character. Unfortunately, only three-fourths of the figure could be found, and all the missing portions have been filled in with opaque grey glass.

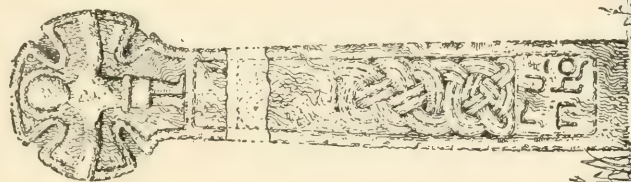
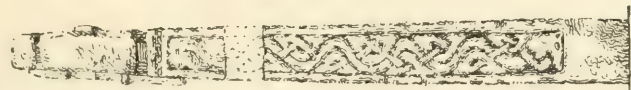
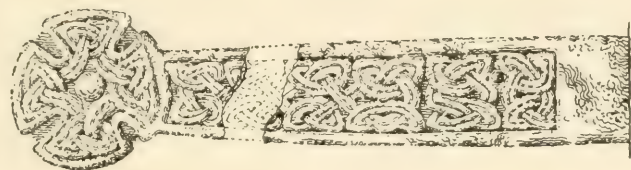
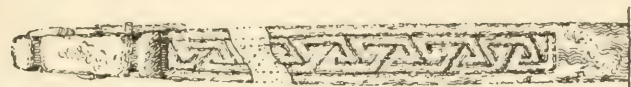
The second addition is a medallion portrait of Charles I, which has been placed in the south aisle of the parish church. It is in excellent condition, carved in alabaster, and was originally painted. Age, however, has dulled the colouring. This medallion was purchased at

the Lambourn Place sale by the vicar, the Rev. J. H. Light ; and it appears that this curio is one of the few medallions carved as souvenirs of the king's death.

St. Mawgan-in-Meneage.—The 14th-century church of St. Mawgan-in-Meneage (Cornwall) is one of those possessing a small window looking into the hagioscope at the junction of the south transept and chancel wall. This is the finest example of four such windows still existing in the Lizard district. Few English churches possess this feature, and it was, doubtless, used for the exercise of some local ceremony. There are many interesting features connected with this thoroughly characteristic Cornish church, and we may mention a 17th-century poor box, which has three distinct locks to it, one for the Rector, and one for each of the Churchwardens.



No 1 in Sancerre churchyard.



Sketch of Sancerre
30 June 1874

Scale feet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Feet



THE JOURNAL

OF THE

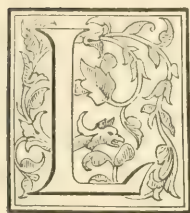
British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER 1895.

A WALK TO SHIRBURN CASTLE, CO. OXON.

BY WALTER MONEY, ESQ., F.S.A., LOCAL SECRETARY FOR BERKSHIRE.

(Read 5th June 1895.)



LONG having had a desire to visit this highly interesting specimen of castellated architecture, which yet stands to tell the story of England's changes from feudal warfare to the internal peace that succeeded the union of the Roses, when manor-houses arose instead of castles, and from the comparative rudeness of that time to the art and taste of the present, I was recently induced to make a pilgrimage to this fine old baronial mansion.

Accompanied by an antiquarian friend, we crossed the Thames at Whitechurch, and leaving the old manor-house of Hardwicke on the right (the original seat of the Hardwicks, from which it takes its name), we climbed the upland steeps above the Thames Valley, when we began to leave fertility and culture behind us. After a pleasant walk through fields, and past lone farm-houses, we came at length to a few rustic, thatched cottages flanked with fine woods,—a rich bit of English landscape-scenery, hidden from the world in a sheltered retirement of

beauty and repose. We found this to be the little hamlet known as Collen's End. It was at this place that the unfortunate King Charles I was allowed to amuse his solitary hours when a prisoner at Lord Craven's house at Caversham, in July 1647, by playing at bowls with the neighbouring gentry, but accompanied by an armed escort. The old bowling-green is now an orchard, and fronts a cottage, a short distance from the little inn known as "King Charles' Head" (now a private house), near two avenues of elms singularly planted in the form of a cross. On inquiring for the old sign-board which was formerly suspended outside the rustic inn, we found it was still preserved, on which these lines are written :

"Stop, traveller, stop ! In yonder peaceful glade
His favourite game the Royal Martyr play'd.
Here, stripped of honours, children, freedom, rank,
Drank from the bowl, and bowl'd for what he drank ;
Sought in a cheerful glass his cares to drown,
And changed his guinea ere he lost his crown."

A portrait of the old woman who kept the house when visited by the King is, we believe, still preserved by the Powys family at Hardwicke.

The King remained at Caversham about a month, and it was here that he was permitted to receive a visit from those of his children who were still in the custody of Parliament,—James, Elizabeth, and Henry. Charles rode over to Maidenhead to meet them on their way, where the interview took place, July 15th, amidst a large concourse of people, who strewed with evergreens and flowers the roads by which the royal family came to meet each other ; and, far from conceiving any anger or distrust at this, officers and soldiers touched in common with the people by the happiness of the father at the sight of his children, permitted him to take them with him to Caversham, and keep them for two days. The meeting was most affecting, for no private man, unacquainted with the pleasures of a court, could have loved his children more affectionately than did Charles I. Even Cromwell (who was a witness of the interview, the headquarters of the army being then at Reading) confessed, with tears streaming from his eyes, that he never

had been present at so tender a scene, and extremely applauded the benignity which displayed itself in the whole disposition and behaviour of the King.

Passing on through a somewhat dreary solitude, we crossed Goring Heath, where there are some very picturesque almshouses, founded in 1724 by Henry Allnutt, Esq., of the Middle Temple, with a chapel attached, and residence for the chaplain. We shortly after emerged on a delightfully wooded country abounding in cherry-trees, and pursued our way along quiet, green lanes, by meadows and rural cottages interspersed amongst the woods, and now and then a lone farmhouse snugly enclosed within a group of weather-beaten barns and comfortable shelters. Other lanes, as deep and as charmingly rustic and secluded, led us onward, affording, from time to time, a peep of far-off picturesque cottages and old homesteads, and ever and anon we obtain a glance over the hollow glades of the far-famed Nettlebed Windmill perched on the hill, with the church and ancient houses curiously clustered around.

Our road now lay through a very pleasant country, and across the *Grims-Dyke*, one of the many memorials of the distant past which may be seen, though only in fragments, in various parts of this district. As to the purpose served by these ancient works, and their probable date, there is some difference of opinion among antiquaries; but there is good reason to suppose that they are boundary-lines thrown up at a time when the land began to be portioned out amongst tribes or clans, and when the rights of property as belonging to individuals was hardly recognised. There is no reason why they should not be attributed to the Romanised Britons, especially towards the close of the Roman rule; or perhaps they may have been formed by our English ancestors soon after they obtained a permanent footing in this country.

As we passed on the country appeared more cultivated, and we noticed on our right, embosomed in trees, a house which we were told was "Joyce Grove". This place has the distinction of having received a visit from King William III in 1694, when, it is said, he was so pleased

with the house that he remarked, "This is a nice place. I should like to live here three days",—a curious pet phrase when His Majesty was satisfied with a new locality. It is also recorded that Queen Anne visited "Joyce Grove" when on a progress.

After an almost continuous ascent for some miles we at last arrived at Nettlebed, an elevation of 820 ft. above the sea, whence a wonderful panorama is obtainable of the surrounding country towards the Berkshire and Hampshire hills, Oxford, and Windsor. The Windmill is said to be visible from the Devil's Dyke, near Brighton; which we can well believe, as it certainly embraces one of the most extensive prospects in England.

From Nettlebed, which being on the great high-road from London to Oxford abounds in old-fashioned inns and publichouses, we had a very commonplace trudge along the road to Watlington; the country, as country, presenting a varied surface, but without any striking features, although the prospects opened out on the high ground are pre-eminently beautiful. Particularly is this the case at a point overlooking the bold and finely sloping hills above Stonor Park, studded with beautiful beech-wood, and stretching out over the wild country beyond to the other side of the valley; the beauty of the scene being heightened by the bold outlines of the hills above the Thames near Wargrave, known as Crazies and Bowseys, which rise into curiously shaped summits, as viewed from a distance, and are, we were told, the only intervening hills between this spot and the Ural Mountains! This is no easy matter to decide, so we did not dispute the authority of our informant, and could only say that it certainly was a noble and extended prospect.

Proceeding eastward, by Swyncombe, we passed through a country consisting chiefly of arable land diversified with beech woods till we came to Christmas Common, an elevation of 762 ft. above the sea, on the plateau overlooking Watlington, commemorated in the pages of a graceful poem by Miss Mitford, entitled "Watlington Hill", a stanza of which runs thus:—

"How boldly yonder cloud, so bright,
Throws out that clump of trees;

Scarce, till it crost th' ethereal light,
Like the wren's plume on snow-ridge white,
The keenest eye that wood could seize.
'Tis distant Faringdon, I deem ;
And far below, Thames' silver stream
Thrills through the fair, romantic bridge
Of Wallingford's old town,
And high above the Wittenham ridge
Seems the gay scene to crown."

We could, however, see far beyond Faringdon Clump, referred to by Miss Mitford ; a grove of Scotch firs said to have been planted by the poet Pye, and the scene of his exaggerated poem of *Faringdon Hill*, locally known as "Pye's Folly",—the word "Folly" signifying in Berkshire a clump of trees in an isolated and elevated situation. The whole line of country as far as the White Horse Hill is in full view in this direction, and we thought we could discover the misty lines of the Wiltshire Hills beyond, which must be clearly visible on a fine day.

On the slope of this hill, immediately above the Icknield Way, there is a colossal figure, in the form of an obelisk, cut in the chalk, known as "The Mark". It is visible from a long distance, and we have frequently discerned it from Wittenham Clump. We do not know to what period this hill-side landmark is assigned, and to enter at all upon the subject requires considerable investigation.

Descending to the valley, we crossed an ancient foss-way, and shortly afterwards the Icknield Way, one of the true old "King's Highways", whose stones were laid by the Roman legions, and whose "peace" is proclaimed in the laws of the Saxon monarchs. We then reached the modern high-road to Oxford, when we beheld, to our great satisfaction, the lodge leading to the ancient stronghold—the chief object of our journey.

As we passed through the gateway we found ourselves in a park of comparatively small extent, and flat in situation, but, although the day was wet and cold, we never recollect to have anywhere seen a building which impressed us with a stronger feeling of the old feudal grandeur than the Castle of Shirburn. The exterior of the whole place has been preserved in its true

ancient character, and is so fine, solemn, and stately, that when we stood on the principal draw-bridge we could almost fancy it was still inhabited by the barons of old time, as, excepting the approaches, it differs in no essential respects from its appearance in the fourteenth century.

The Castle is large, and of quadrangular form, with battlemented parapets, and at each angle rises a massive circular tower, considerably above the general height of the building. On all sides the structure is surrounded by a moat of great breadth and depth, and is entered by means of three draw-bridges, and at the termination of that on the west side is the principal gateway, which was also defended with a portcullis. The huge and lofty entrance-doors are of solid oak, studded with heavy square-headed nails, and when the many coats of paint were removed, in 1854, several bullets were found flattened in the wood, at the same time the last remains of the old portcullis crumbled into dust.

Interiorly the castle is a complete adaptation of the stern architecture of our feudal ancestors to the higher luxury and more refined needs of our own day; and as the great doors open before you like the removal of a wall, the surprise that seizes you is instantaneous and strong. The first room you enter, after passing the small outer vestibule,¹ is the spacious Baronial Hall, on the walls of which are suspended many interesting pieces of armour, shields, tilting-spears, and other kinds of ancient as well as modern defensive weapons, including pot-helmets, breast and back-plates, of the Civil War period. We also noticed the sword of Hyder Ali taken at Seringapatam; and, amongst many other relics, a pair of leather gauntlets worn by the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen, when a prisoner at Ashridge. We next proceeded to the Drawing Room, which is a noble apartment, overlooking the broad expanse of water surrounding the castle, fringed on its margins with evergreen oaks, and containing some very fine historic

¹ This vestibule is vaulted, with apertures through which molten lead was poured on the heads of the besiegers.

portraits. Among these are a magnificent head of Erasmus by *Holbein*; Archbishop Laud, *Fandyke*; the portrait of Queen Katharine Parr, attributed to *Zucchero*;¹ with a piece of hair cut from the head of the Queen, in 1799, when her coffin was opened at Sudeley Castle, inserted in the lower part of the frame; Head of a Gentleman, *Antonio More*; Head of a Lady, by the same artist; Lord Bacon, *Van Somer*; Portrait of a Burgher, *Frank Hals*; Head supposed to be that of Lord Carnarvon, killed at the battle of Newbury, 1643, *Mytens*; and several other valuable works. In the Ante-Drawing Room is the famous portrait, by *Romney*, of Mary Frances, wife of George, fourth Earl of Macclesfield; and in the other rooms are portraits of Thomas, first Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor, by *Kneller*; of George, second Earl, by *Hogarth*, and William Jones, Esq., by the same artist; William, Earl of Pembroke, by *Polemberg*; Thomas, third Earl of Macclesfield, and Mary his wife, by *Ramsay*; and others. In the Dining Room there are six pictures of horses, by *Stubbs*; and a full length portrait of the present Earl of Macclesfield, in hunting dress, with four hounds, by *Hon. H. Graves*, and presented to the Countess of Macclesfield by the members of the South Oxfordshire Hunt.

There are two valuable libraries in the Castle, of about 14,000 volumes, some of which were bequeathed by

¹ Recent research has proved that this so-called portrait of Katharine Parr could not have been painted by Zucchero, as he was only six years old when she died, in 1548. It does not in the least resemble any of the authentic portraits of Katharine Parr, who had a broad forehead, dark hair in flat bands, rather a square face, and short, thick nose. The hair is no proof, as ladies dyed their hair of whatever colour they pleased. The inscription, in gilt letters, on the curtain is

CATHARINE PARR
QUEEN TO KING
HENRY THE VIII.

But the late Mr. Scharf considered this to be evidence against rather than for the usually received opinion. *Katharine* was never spelt *Catherine* in the sixteenth century. The costume, too, is of Queen Elizabeth's time. In any case it is a remarkably fine and well painted picture. It is much more likely to be a portrait of Queen Elizabeth herself or a noble lady of the period.

Mr. Jones, the mathematician, and father of Sir William Jones, who resided in the Castle through the friendship of the second Earl of Macclesfield. It is especially rich in MS. letters of mathematicians of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

But one of the chief attractions at Shirburn to the archaeologist is the inscribed Roman sepulchral monument placed in a recess on the principal staircase. Its original source is not known, but more than fifty years ago the Countess of Macclesfield found it standing on a pedestal in the garden, and thinking it a pity that it should be exposed to the chances of weather and accident had it brought into the Castle and placed in its present position. The monument is formed of white statuary marble, of elegant design, surmounted with a pediment, with volutes and moulded cornice, $17\frac{1}{4}$ ins. in height, $16\frac{1}{2}$ ins. broad, and 12 ins. in depth. The inside is hollow—the walls being $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick. Under the cornice is the following inscription in Roman letters :

MANIBUS
L . PVPI . POTITI .
VIX ANNI . XVI .
PV PIA AMPLIATA
MATER .

I am indebted to F. Haverfield, Esq., F.S.A., an authority of European reputation, for the following reading of the inscription :—MANIBUS L(UCII) PUPI POTITI : VIX(IT) ANNI(S) XVI : PUPIA AMPLIATA MATER. “To the ghost of Lucius Pupius Potitus, aged xvi : put up by his mother Pupia Ampliata.”

Mr. Haverfield observes that “*Vixit annis* is a variation on *Vixit annos* ; it occurs often on tombstones. Ampliatus, Ampliata, are common names for persons of the lower classes (slaves, freedmen, or their descendants) at Rome. A Christian Ampliatus is mentioned by St. Paul as at Rome (this, of course, is not itself a Christian monument). I suppose the two Pupii here mentioned were descendants of a slave enfranchised by some Roman Pupius.” Mr. Haverfield also says that it is not a local or Britanno-Roman antiquity, but



ROMAN MONUMENT AT SHIREBURN.

belongs to a type of funeral monument which is very common at Rome, and may have been brought to England in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century by someone who then made the then fashionable Mediterranean tour. Mr. Haverfield adds that a great number of similar inscriptions from Rome exist in our country-houses and collections.

A drawing of this monument, on the accompanying Plate, by Mrs. Chester of Shirburn Vicarage, gives a good idea of its character, but it is not drawn to scale.

In taking a glance over the history of Shirburn Castle, which has been admirably compiled by Lady Macclesfield in a little brochure published in 1887, we speedily become sensible of its importance in the past, and of the many striking scenes in which it has figured. It is of Norman origin, and its records extend to a very early period. In 1141 the then Castle surrendered to the Empress Matilda as a ransom of William Martell, the faithful seneschal of King Stephen, who was secured as a prisoner in Wallingford Castle till he had consented to deliver up, for his release, the important Castle of Shirburn, and the large tract of country which was attached to it. The Castle and Manor were subsequently part of the possessions of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who was induced to aspire to the imperial crown of Germany, in right of his election as King of the Romans, who, in 1231, granted to Henry le Tyes the manor of Shirburn, as part of the Barony of Robert, Earl of Dreux, as of the Honour of St. Valerie. In 1321, the Barons who had entered into an association against the Despencers met at Shirburn, under Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. For taking part in the insurrection under the same Earl, Warine de Lisle, lord of the manor, was hanged at York. In 1377, 51 Edward III, his grandson, another Warine de Lisle, had license to embattle and fortify his Castle at Shirburn. Through his female descendants it passed successively into the hands of the Beauchamps (who held it by service of one bow and three arrows without feathers), Talbots, and Quartremaynes, the last of whom having no children, left it to the child of his servant Richard Fowler, who

sold his lands, *temp.* Henry VIII, to the Chamberlains, of which family a lady defended the Castle against the Parliamentary forces, and surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax in June 1646. Later, Shirburn Castle, with the estate, became for a short time the property of the Gage family, and was purchased, in 1716, by Thomas Parker, Lord Chancellor, 1711-1725, and first Earl of Macclesfield. With the accession of Lord Chancellor Parker the palmy days of the old Castle returned, and have been well maintained by a succession of public-spirited descendants, who have won the hearts of the people by their kindness and consideration to all around them.

Among the many engaging passages in the records of Shirburn, quoted by the Countess of Macclesfield, is the following transcript from the letters of Brunetto Latini, the tutor of Dante, who died in 1294, describing his journey in two days from London to Oxford by way of Stokenchurch :—

“Our journey from London to Oxford was, with some difficulty and danger, made in two days, for the roads are bad, and we had to climb hills of hazardous ascent, and which to descend are equally perilous. We passed through many woods considered here as dangerous places, as they are infested with robbers; which, indeed, is the case with most of the roads in England. This is a circumstance connived at by the neighbouring barons, from the consideration of sharing in the booty, and these robbers serving as their protectors on all occasions, personally, and with the whole strength of their band. However, as our company was numerous, we had nothing to fear.

“Accordingly we arrived the first night at Shirburn Castle, in the neighbourhood of Watlington, under the chain of hills over which we passed at Stokenchurch. This Castle was built by the Earl of Tankerville, one of the followers of the fortunes of William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, who invaded England, and slew King Harold in a battle which decided the fate of the kingdom. It is now in the possession of a descendant of the said Earl.

“As the English barons are frequently embroiled in disputes and quarrels with the Sovereign and with each other, they take the precaution of building strong castles for their residence, with high towers and deep moats surrounding them, and strengthened with drawbridges, posterns, and portcullises; and further, to enable them to hold out for a considerable length of time, in case they should happen to be besieged, they make a provision of victuals, arms, and whatever else is necessary for the purpose.”

Our return journey was made by way of Watlington—the Wattled-town of the Anglo-Saxons, still locally pronounced “Wattleton”, in which we met with nothing very observable except the picturesque cruciform building known as the Town Hall, standing at the corner of four cross-roads, built by Thomas Stonor, Esq., in 1664, and which is perhaps one of the most interesting structures in the county. It has been described as very much like the old Market-house at Ross, on the Wye, and with its grey mullions, high-pointed gables, and dark arches is a favourite subject with artists. But it is now in a most ruinous condition, and something is absolutely necessary to be done at once to keep it from tumbling down. The condition of the building is really disgraceful, and it is not easy to pardon the base uses to which this quaint old memorial of other days is degraded; and reflects but little credit on its present proprietors, whoever they may be. This is a case where the “Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings” might well exert their valuable influence, for the sacrifice of such an interesting building, falling slowly to pieces through the want of the commonest care, is a piece of Philistinism unworthy of the local authorities of the place. So far as we could gather, the inhabitants of the town do not appear to take any interest whatever in its preservation, and possess the very common but erroneous idea that anything which is new is valuable, and anything old is worthless. We respectfully submit that it is the duty of the people of the place, or the person or persons in whom the property is vested, to preserve this old building, which, apart from the question of its many associations, is a beautiful and curious, if not unique, monument of a past age, and a landmark in local history.

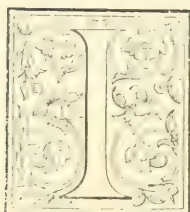




THE IGEL MONUMENT.

BY DR. A. C. FRYER.

(Read 6th Feb. 1895.)



IN the little village of Igel, on the Moselle, stands a very interesting Roman monument. The column is about 23 ft. high, and it bears on the south side the following inscription :

“D. I..... Secu . . . voca M

no filis Secundini Securi et Publiae Pacatae coniugi Secundini Aventini et L. Saccio Modesto et Modestio Macedoni filio eius Luc. Secundinius Aventinus et Secundinius Securus parentibus defunctis et sibi vivi ut . . . erunt.”

Thus we learn that two brothers, Lucius Secundinius Aventinus and Lucius Secundinius Securus, erected this monument to their parents, the children of Secundinius Securus, the wife of Secundinius Aventinus, Publia Pacata, two relatives, and themselves.

The photograph I have pleasure in submitting to your examination shows the south side of the monument. Above the inscription is a relief representing the father taking leave of his two sons. One of the sons holds a piece of cloth, which is most likely an allusion to the trade of this family. Above are the portraits of two boys and a girl. On the pedestal are a number of persons sitting at two tables, and listening to a man who is reading a document, which is perhaps a will. The small frieze over the principal relief represents a repast. On the one side the wine is served, and on the other the meats



THE ICEL MONUMENT.

are prepared. In the field, above it, cloths are examined, while "Hylas carried away by the Nymphs" is represented in the gable. On the capital are to be seen Tritons, a bearded head, and the Oceanides bearing the globe; while on the top is Ganymede carried off by the eagle.

The relief on the east side of the monument is completely destroyed. On the superior part of the main field is a representation of "Thetis plunging Achilles into the Styx." The frieze shows the work carried on in a dyeing-house, while above is a representation of a number of persons sitting round a table, which is probably a sale of cloth. In the gable is "Luna in a Carriage."

On the podium, on the north side, are found Tritons fighting with sea-animals, while on the socle is a bale upon a raft. The apotheosis of Hercules, in the middle of the Zodiac, is in the main field, and in the four corners are four wind-gods.

On the frieze are seen mules laden with bales, and they appear to be driven over a mountain. Over the frieze is a boy with two griffins, while Sol, in a carriage drawn by four horses, is represented in the gable.

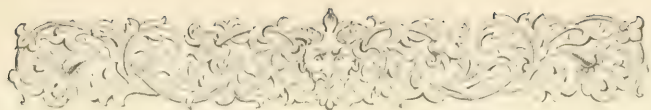
The reliefs on the podium, on the west side, are like those on the north. However, on the socle is represented a carriage which is heavily laden, and drawn by three horses. The main field is in two parts; the lower part shows "Hercules with the Hesperides", and the upper gives "Perseus freeing Andromeda." The possessor of an estate receiving hares, fish, sheep, poultry, from his tenants is depicted on the frieze. Above the frieze is seen a carriage with two horses, driven before a milestone on which the mark L.III most likely indicates the distance from Trier to Igel. Mars and Rhea Silvia are in the gable.

The reliefs prove that the Secundini manufactured cloth, that their trade was an extensive one, and that they were the owners of large estates.

Such monuments, depicting scenes of daily life, were common enough, but the Igeler monument is one of the few that has not been destroyed, and is still in excellent preservation. In the Museum at Trier are portions of

other obelisk-like, gable-roofed monuments, dating from the Roman period, and they were found at Neumagen, Junkerath, and other places. These monuments, however, have long been destroyed, while the Iglar monument still stands, and shows us how the other funeral columns were most likely constructed.





VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY.

BY REV. T. H. OWEN.

(Read 18th April 1891.)



THE first excavation of this venerable ruin was undertaken in 1851 by the late Viscount Dungannon of Brynhinalt, under whose praiseworthy superintendence the whole of the nave and transepts were cleared. Previous to this there was not a vestige of the wall of the north aisle and pillars.

In excavating the nave, a large quantity of human remains were found; a cart load of them were removed to Llantysilio churchyard and interred there, and from this I infer the nave must have been used as a burial-ground at some period.

In the year 1882, the keys of the Abbey were handed over to me. Up to that time the Chapter-house and all the monastic buildings were used for farm purposes, and the Cloister-court as a farm-yard. This state of things was grievous to any one with a spark of proper feeling. A few years previously Mr. Trevor Hughes, who had taken great interest in the Abbey, had removed many of the more modern buildings which surrounded the Cloister-court, and in May 1883 induced his brother, Mr. Rice Thomas, to undertake the clearing and excavating of the Chapter-house, so as to show the beautiful pillars, four in number, and their bases, erected about 1150. This occupied about one year, and cost the owners about £600. They at the same time repaired the groining, and raised the boundary wall and properly inclosed the Cloister-court. I also undertook myself to complete the removal of the *débris* which had been left in the corners of the chapels and nave since the year

1851. I also collected the arch mouldings and the caps of the pillars, and arranged them in such a way that visitors might form some idea of the former beauty of the Abbey. In the year 1886 an ancient well was discovered in the Cloister-court, and this we uncovered. In 1887, while excavating the founder's chapel, a human skull of very large dimensions was found. The most notable feature is the hole in the crown. It appears that the owner of this skull must have lived with the hole in it, as the bone showed signs of having begun to thicken, and no doubt skin had grown over it. This relic we keep in the Museum at the Abbey, with a number of other curiosities found in the excavations from time to time. In the year 1888 I turned my attention to the Dormitory, which had never been disturbed since the time it was burnt down. Under the *débris*, just over the slype, some interesting tombstones were discovered which had been used for the repairing of the vaulting, of very early date, earlier than the Cistercian period of the Abbey, and must have belonged to an earlier structure. They are four in number. There is one which has a Norman sword on it with an inscription which is not easily deciphered. It can be read as follows:—"Jacet . Ordus Madoc — In signis celi omino en sis." "Here lies Ovius Madoc the distinguished knight of the mysterious sword." Another, with a floriated cross with circle, which may be the stone of an abbot or bishop; no inscription. The others are something similar, with no inscription, one having a spear. Some antiquaries attribute them to the tenth century. The year 1889 was a memorable one, being the year of the Queen's visit to North Wales. I turned my attention to the excavation of the exterior of the north transept and aisle, a portion which had never been disturbed since the dissolution; this occupied the greater part of two years, but, when completed, it turned out to be the most interesting excavation ever done, and it brought to light the buttresses of the north transept and aisle, which some antiquaries say are the same date as Salisbury Cathedral, and in excellent preservation. I was finally rewarded by the

discovery of a fine tombstone laid on the foundations between the third and fourth buttresses of the north aisle, showing a knight-templar's tombstone; engraved on the stone was a sword, but no inscription. It has never been found out whose stone it was. On reaching the west end I was surprised to find a large corner buttress somewhat like a turret tower, which seemed to have been pulled down to the level of the embankment surrounding it. Under the roots of a large tree, close to this buttress, I also came upon a quantity of old glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which has since been all set in a small frame, and is now in the Museum attached to the Abbey. The window is well worth inspection, and it is of the same period as the patchwork windows made up in Canterbury Cathedral and Christ Church, Oxford. The colours are very deep, especially the ruby, and there is a colour of green not to be had now. In the summer of 1893 I started upon the excavations of the Cloister-court, which had never been disturbed since the time of the burning in the middle of the fifteenth century, and in course of the work I came upon the old foundations of the Cloister wall of great thickness, and also the wall of the arcade, which showed signs that it had been all groined at one time. The width of the Cloister was thus shown to be about 8 to 9 ft. wide. In pursuing the Cloister-court boundary wall, at the west end I came upon the very ancient gateway and porch, the foundation complete, Norman, if not earlier; and from these excavations I conclude that the Cloister-court is very much earlier than the Abbey itself. No doubt the Cloister-court was really the old Llanegwest; for *Llan* meant enclosure, and *gwestl* for strangers. On this site there seems to have been a religious-house from a very early period, for in course of the excavations I discovered three or four distinct burnings; at a depth of two yards was the old wooden structure all burnt, except a few pieces of oak, and above this old Roman work of dressed stone, and above that again the blue stone, so that it is quite clear that British, Roman-Saxon, and Norman work had been destroyed from time to time, and that the present

church was rebuilt in 1200 in the Early English style from the materials of former structures, for stones of all these periods are to be found in the structure of the Abbey.

But the most interesting find is the ancient porch at the west end, together with the foundations of the old boundary wall which comes about a yard further out than the Abbey itself; and this wall can be traced the whole length to the west of the Cloister-court. On the south side we discovered an entrance to the refectory, the foundations of which lie outside the present boundary wall, which is modern, and also another gateway leading to another portion of the monastic buildings.

We have now the foundations of the Cloister nearly complete, but have still got the excavation of the Court to do, so as to get it on the same level as the church; and we hope, if we can raise sufficient funds to carry on this undertaking, we shall very probably come upon the ancient tombstone and also the well which I believe is in the centre of the garth. From a rough calculation it will take something about £60 or £70 to do this work, and that in labour alone, as there is over 600 yards of *débris* to be removed.

I only hope that antiquaries, or anyone interested in the work, will come forward and assist, and help in developing the history of what is probably the oldest monastic foundation in Wales.

I have now briefly given an account of ten years' excavation, the cost of which has not been less than £400, as I have expended myself at the rate of £40 a year, without troubling the public at all. But as it is a national thing I hope I may be pardoned if this year I make an appeal for a little help, as I have a most interesting work now on hand, which is at a complete standstill from want of funds.

The Cambrian Archæological Association have made a grant of ten pounds, but that has been expended in labour during the winter.



CRYPTE COURT, WATERGATE STREET, CHESTER.

BY F. H. WILLIAMS, ESQ.

(Read 3rd Jan. 1894.)



THE *Chester Courant*, of 11th Oct. 1893, states that a new addition has been made to the antiquities of Chester by unearthing a crypt under one of the old family mansions in Watergate Street, which has every indication of being part of the ancient Friars. In 1846 the property was acquired by the late Mr. H. Boden from the Maddocks of Liscard, and was then in a fair state of repair; but the depreciation of property in the locality led to its becoming untenanted, and general dilapidation followed as a natural result, until it became nearly a ruin. Last year it was offered for sale, and a portion purchased by Mr. Walter Boden, who, having arranged with the Town Council to give land for the widening of Common-hall Street and Puppet-Show Entry, has since pulled down the whole, and erected seven modern and well-arranged dwellings and other business premises.

Under a portion of the old house, and about midway between the two streets, there exists a crypt which for centuries lay unnoticed, being used as a back-cellar in connection with a bonded vault. Mr. Boden has had the crypt cleared of mould and soil, and lighted with gas, and has opened out a space over it to form a court, henceforth to be named "Crypte Court", and made a new and easy external stairway down to it. It was hoped that on the removal of several inches of soil a floor would be found; but it is now clear that years ago, this, of whatever character it was, had been removed, evidently

to increase the depth, and there remains only the natural rock, roughly hewn, and level. There is, however, a distinct trace of a concrete floor visible on the walls.

The crypt is 32 ft. long and 11 ft. wide, and lies due east and west, with a clearly defined but filled-up recess at the east end, as though an altar had existed. There is a doorway at the north-west corner, and a vestibule and door at the south-east angle, both with recesses for heavy doors, and the marks of massive hinges and bolts. The roof is of pointed Early English character, about thirteenth century, with diagonal groining at both ends, and massive, splayed rib-vaulting, in eight lines between, the ribs springing off the plain ashlar. All is of great strength, and in good preservation.

The owner, Mr. W. M. Boden, Diocesan Surveyor, desires that any one who wishes may view, and a key is procurable from the occupier of No. 1, Crypte Court, and at Mr. Boden's office. He will also be pleased to have any opinions as to the probable origin, character, and period of the crypt, and whether it would appear to have been erected for religious purposes, security, or storage only.

In view of appending a few notes, I visited the place to-day, and may say that the foregoing description seems generally correct. I cannot, however, accept the suggestion that the room formed part of the buildings in connection with the Monastery of White Friars, though the orientation of the "crypt" (to use the popular term) would, if taken with other necessary, and presumably existing features, point to the Chapel theory as not unlikely; a very slight examination convinced me that it had been intended for other—possibly storage-purposes.

Ignoring the want of such appendages as a piscina or aumbrey, we have only to consider the suggested altar-recess. This, an opening of 3 ft. 6 ins. in width, is, from its splayed sides and square head (the latter some 2 ft. below the apex of roof) evidently that of a window, but walled up. At the west end is a similar depression, 3 ft. 10 ins. wide, the back of which from near the level of the floor slopes upwards to the sill of a rectangular,

rebated light (size about 2 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. high), the upper part of which is almost level with the pointed roof. The sides and back of this opening present a weathered appearance, and from the hasty examination I made, fancy that the light and incline beneath it may be alterations made at some later period; and on this account also cannot speak with certainty as to the window at the other end; but happily, owing to the wise decision of the owner, the crypt remains, and a future examination may tell us more about it.

Some time ago, the then Mayor of Chester, Alderman Charles Brown, informed the Association of certain remains disclosed during the reconstruction of some premises of his, in May 1890, a little east of this place,¹ viz., the lower portion of a Roman column *in situ*, on a foundation of boulder-concrete, and a couple of early sepulchral slabs (one inscribed), these latter probably derived from the White Friars' Church. When this excavation was in progress I obtained an incised floor-tile with foliated device, a squeeze of which I send. It has been green glazed, and, when in position, one of a pattern of alternating circles and quarterfoils, enclosing leaves.

To make myself intelligible to those unacquainted with the topography of our old city, I should mention that the Church of the Monastery, and I infer practically the Monastery itself, occupied the area between Bridge Street on the east; "White Friars"—a street on the south; Weaver Street on the west; and Common-hall Street on the north; where, at an almost equal distance between the last named and Watergate Street—which lies parallel with it—is the room described.

The lofty spire of this Carmelite House was built in 1496, and after withstanding the storms of a century—doing a good work the while in guiding seafarers over a treacherous coast—or, in the words of the local historian Webb, "the only sea-mark for direction over the bar of Chester", was taken down (1597).

¹ Formerly a tumble-down building, now restored in the half-timbered style so characteristic of Chester architecture, with a swinging sign near the roof, lettered "*Roman Column*".

In writing of Common-hall Lane (though all our Lanes have now attained to the dignity of "Streets", and some even within my memory bore the former title), I will again quote old Webb, who says: "As you descend from the High Cross, upon the west side lyes a lane, anciently called Norman's Lane, and many yet call it Common-hall Lane, because it was situate at a great hall, where the pleas of the city, and the courts thereof, and meetings of the mayor, and his brethren were once holden, and it joins St. Alban's Lane."¹ This St. Alban's Lane is the Weaver Street described. Forming a great part of the east side of this Weaver Street, White Friars' end, still exists an ancient coped wall—the western boundary of the Monastery—and in which, many years ago, my father remembers having seen a mediæval corbel, or sculpture, in the form of a cowled head, but that on a subsequent visit he found it had been removed. This, as occurring on its outer face, had probably been a modern insertion of some carved fragment found near the spot.

In May 1884, when digging for the foundations of some new houses on the north side of White Friars, part of a mediæval tiled floor was met with, about 3 ft. below the surface. The tiles composing it were of the same date as the tile from Watergate Street (15th century), and like it incised; they were glazed green, yellow, and brown (or black); and the patterns common to others of the same period, viz., ordinary geometrical, and foliated; stag; two dolphins; double-headed eagle; and interlacing circles, the union of which on each tile gave four *vesicæ* with a figure of a fish in each, round a six-rayed centre.² Beneath this, and about seven feet from the surface, was found the original Roman street,

¹ A half-timbered erection, known as the Almshouses of St. Ursula, afterwards marked the spot. It was removed some fifty years ago. There is a view of it in the first volume of the *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*.

² A pavement, identical both in design and date, was found on the east side of Bridge Street, April 1850, within the northern limits of the Monastery of St. Michael. (See *Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, i, pp. 51-54, and plates.)

together with remains of a columnar building of the same period along its northern line.¹

In conclusion, I may add that the Gothic arches in some adjoining premises on the west side of Bridge Street, and supporting the comparatively modern houses above, have been considered as remains of buildings connected with the Monastery.

The foregoing imperfect description was hurriedly put together in view of its being read (in the absence of more important matter) after the business of the last meeting, December 6th, and in doing so I find I have omitted to state my reasons for not accepting the suggestion that the vaulted chamber belonged to the Monastery. In the first place, if we were to entertain the idea, we should have also to assume that some of the buildings extended beyond, that is to the north of, Common-hall Lane—an evidently ancient boundary—and though it is not improbable that this Religious House may have held lands and tenements at no great distance beyond its walls, we should, I think, be going out of our way in so striving to explain it; and, indeed, might with no less reason apply the same argument to other adjacent crypts.

The chapel theory has in turn been applied to all buildings of the like character found in Chester, a theory now judged false, but at one time accepted without question; though there is still a lingering tendency, even amongst some antiquaries, so to regard them. At the present time they are, I need scarcely add, generally and reasonably considered to be the basements or lowest portions of ancient houses. It would unnecessarily lengthen my prosy account if I were to attempt a description of those other vaulted chambers existing in Eastgate and Bridge Streets, for though they slightly differ in point of date, and so architecturally, as far as their use goes, the description of those in Watergate Street may apply to the rest. With the exception of that forming the subject of the present remarks, they are situated at right

¹ Other particulars of this discovery, with a plan, may be found in the late Mr. Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, pp. 147-152.

angles to the several streets (*i.e.*, with one of the narrower ends, or entrance, parallel with the street). During my first hasty survey of Mr. Boden's crypt (for I have again visited it) the doorway at the west end of its north side was temporarily barricaded; this opening, I find, communicates with another more extensive cellar, its width coinciding with the length of the crypt. The roof is supported by massive beams from side to side, which rest on corbels grotesquely carved with human and other heads. This cellar was until recently used as a Bond-vault, a purpose to which many of the old basements have been applied. The superstructure bears the appearance of a sixteenth-century building, with a gabled roof and stuccoed front, but has suffered both internally and externally from the alterations of later times.

In my former notes I mentioned the judiciously restored building, now known as the "Roman Column". The next house to the west is also the property of Alderman Brown, and has not only had its upper portion tastefully rebuilt in the same style, but a suitably designed Gothic frontage of stone is being inserted, in place of the common cellar-entrance below. At the south end of this basement are two bays of an early and very elegant little crypt (once continuous to the street, with a row of supporting columns through its length). It is gratifying to know this vestige of ancient domestic architecture has fallen into the hands of one to whose liberality and zeal in preserving the glories of old Chester the city is indebted so much.

Still further to the east, and on the same side of the street, is the well-known double crypt forming part of Messrs. Quellyn, Roberts, and Co.'s premises; but as I do not wish to add to a more than twice-told story, I will let the views and plan sent speak for themselves, merely observing I believe there are no substantial grounds for the idea that this crypt, and the one on the west side of Bridge Street, were connected together by a passage, as suggested.



NOTES RELATIVE TO
SOME NORTHAMPTONSHIRE CHURCHES OF
NORMAN AGE;

ALL EVIDENTLY THE WORK OF THE SAME MASTER-MASON,
ONE SEEMINGLY FROM FRANCE.

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

(Read 5 Jan. 1895.)



It is not often in the Norman age that we can follow up so clearly, through more than one building, the work of any one designer, as can be done here with erections by the master-mason of the cross-church of Castor, near Peterborough,—a church whose central tower is probably the finest Norman steeple in England: and so well illustrated in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*.

The dedicatory inscription, again replaced in the south wall of its choir, when rebuilt during the Early Decorated period, states the year as 1124, and provides evidence of the time about which he flourished. Castor having fallen to the share of two brothers, the elder Richard, a priest; it was agreed between them that he, the priest, was to have the church and half a hide of land which belonged to it, while the younger was to hold the rest. Priest Richard gave the church and its half-hide of land to the Monastery of Burgh St. Peter, in 1133, which again was, at a later time, confirmed to it. There, therefore, seems little cause to doubt that the Norman Church was erected by order of Richard, the priest, to replace, it may have been, a Saxon one of wood, replacing that one destroyed by Swend.

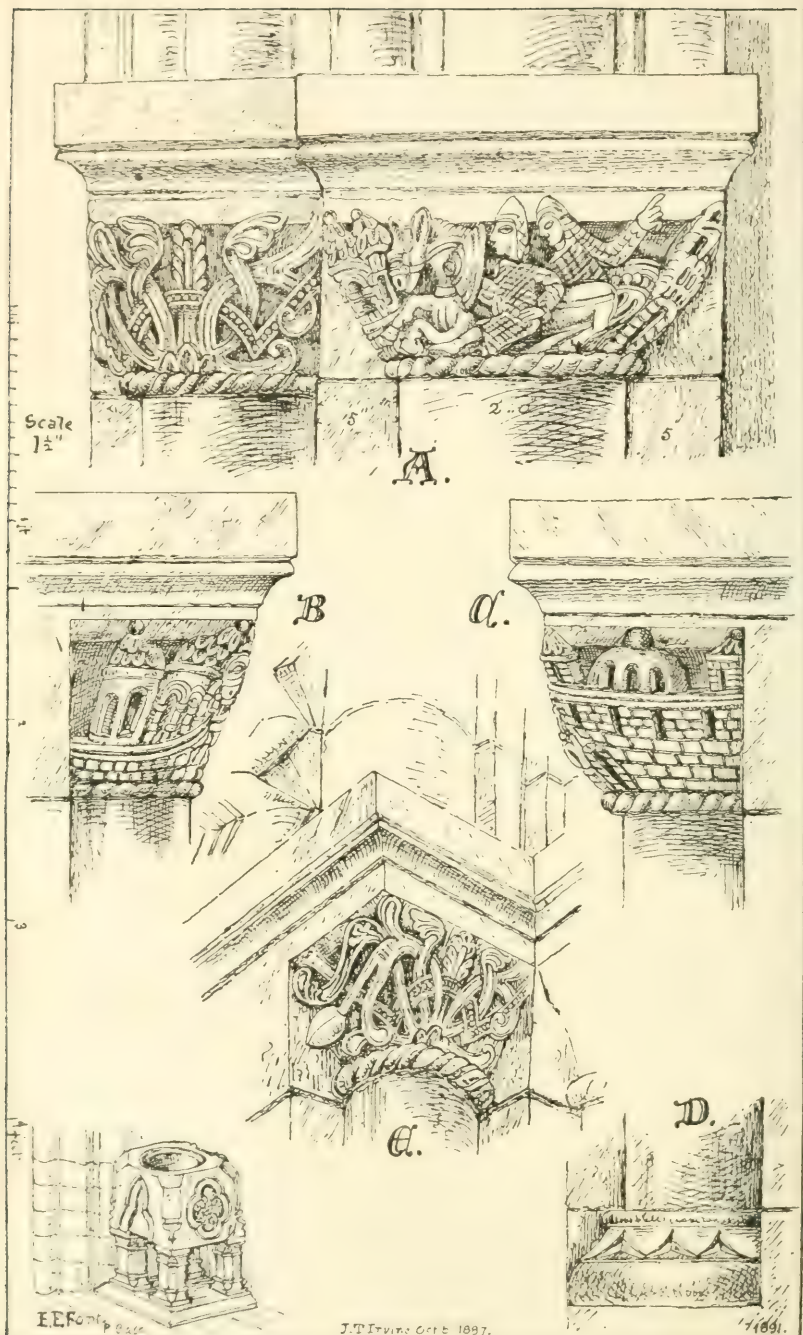
Though the Norman choir underwent rebuilding (to a good design) in Early Decorated times, yet its pre-

decessor's rich character is evidenced by the abundant supply of the small shafts from the destroyed wall-arcades, etc., now used as mere walling materials in the north side of this choir. In the Norman part left, there remains that abundance of carving in which this sculptor-mason's work abounds. This is both in the pillars of crossing, the tower externally, the south door, (now rebuilt in the wall of an added south aisle), and also a grandly sculptured tympanum, bearing a half figure of Our Blessed Lord blessing, removed from the original site it occupied, and rebuilt over the arch into the south porch, where its sill-stone is also part of a cross-shaft, ornamented with interlacing work. His bases everywhere, out and in, bear that ring of "scale-work" (see D on plate) which seems the invariable mark by which his work may be always told at a glance, whether here, at Maxey, and at Wakerley churches, or when even, as at Water Newton, the materials of his Castor choir are found reused as only building materials (they are not late enough to present claws on angles). He also executed a font for Wansford Church (though probably no other part of it) on which he has repeated the same singular club-contest he carved on the south-west crossing pier at Castor (illustrated in a former *Journal*).

His designs are in advance of any of the work going on at the like time around; as may be well seen on comparison with even that of the Abbey Church, now the Cathedral.¹

In the very interesting church which, with almost castle-style, tops the artificial mound that gives the name of Maxey (Maks Oye), or the Made Island, to the parish, his work is again found in the lower parts of its western tower, a simpler edition of the central design at Castor, and where in its lowest stage he is found copying (strange to say) the vertical stone strips he saw used in the tower of its Saxon neighbour at Barnack, his tower being here, as in that of Barnack, a stone addition to an older Saxon nave of wood. Here,

¹ There not a trace of his work is seen.



WAKERLEY CHURCH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
Capitals, etc., in Chancel.

as at Castor Tower, he divides the stages by corbelled cornices, the corbels carved heads, and the strings also richly ornamented, his bases scaled. The upper stage of his design has from some cause been destroyed, and in Decorated times replaced in that style.

The third where part of his work remains is Wakerley Church. As by him designed, originally but a nave and chancel; of which last only the chancel-arch wall exists, the arcaded walls of its choir not entirely departing (according to Bridges, the historian of the county) until the end of the last or even the commencement of this century. The choir-arch (as often the case) was in early times taken down, though its responds were left, and the same stones refixed in a pointed shape, as it now still remains. On each side of its western face are blank arches, whose mouldings rest on short columns, having scaled bases as usual (D on Plate). To his nave, at a later time, short aisles or chantry chapels were added, opened into it by arches pierced through the nave walls. Thus, over the central pillar supporting the two southern arches, the top-part of one of his nave-windows remains; and on what was the external wall of his nave, under the present aisle-roof, remains to view part of his richly ornamented corbel-table. The diamond adorned string which *externally* found place below the sills of his windows, was by the aisle builders replaced as an *internal* one below theirs.

Among the many carvings with which the work of this sculptor-mason abounds, none is more interesting than the subject he selected for production on the large cap of the north respond of the choir arch (see sketches A, B, C, E, on plate). The smaller outer cap (F) is ornamented by a poppy in bud, mixed with that imitation of interlacing strapwork design, much used at Castor by him; and, indeed, everywhere common to his period. On the large cap he illustrates, with singular force, the passage of an armed knight (it may be intended for the then possessor of Wakerley) to the Holy wars, who evidently was accompanied up to the Hellespont by his lady. On the west, or outer end of the block, is seen

the three apses of a church with their tiled and pointed roofs, while its east end shows a lofty (city ?) wall, formed of large stones, through which is a gateway. Below the coping, the wall is pierced by four square-headed windows. At each of its ends rise square stone turrets, with openings in their sides, having tiled and pointed roofs. Between these there rises above the wall a lofty dome, terminating in a ball, its sides pierced by three large round-headed windows. The first church can scarcely be intended for other than that of the Holy Sepulchre; and this, the second, for Justinian's masterpiece. The front of the cap presents an armed knight on horseback, who is riding from the city-gate towards the church, while behind and over him is seen his lady, with hand lifted heavenwards, as she here commits him to the Almighty's protection during his further pilgrimage. She, no doubt, having followed him on his advance up to the Hellespont, and here is seen taking leave of him beneath the walls of the city of Constantine, over which towers arises the dome of St. Sofia, as he, armed, starts onwards to the more arduous portion of his journey.

The story could scarcely be told in a more lively manner; and the sculptor must both have seen and retained a strong remembrance of what here he illustrates of Justinian's noble erection, which must certainly be the first representation of it in England. It is just possible that the wall and turrets may be, however, intended for that church itself, the turrets being those small towers at the angles of its plan.

During the Perpendicular Period a slot to receive the end of the screen-beam was cut through the centre of the cap, and during repairs several years ago replaced with a new piece, which part is therefore partially modern.

The date of the work must be somewhere about 1120. Unfortunately it does not appear possible to recover the possessor of Wakerley at that date. Wakerley, in *Domesday*, is described as held by Eudo Fitz Herbert, and in 1198-99 it was part of the possessions of William de Lanvelley, a member of the great Essex family of that name.

Of the work of this master-mason other specimens may eventually come to light in Northants or elsewhere, his work being easily recognisable by his scaled bases.

Castor Church chancel was, as above stated, rebuilt in the Decorated period, and the stonework of its windows carried over to Water Newton Church, where they now form belfrey windows in its tower, one of the scaled bases now appearing as a walling-stone in part of the tower stairs. The curious inscription on the west face of this tower has never been before published. It is as follows, and records the memory of Thomas Purdeu :

VOVS : KE : PVR :
 ISSI : PASSEZ :
 PVR : LE : ALME
 : TOMAS : PVR :
 DEV : PRIEZ :

Singular to say, the slab of soft Cambridgeshire clunch-stone on which the inscription is cut, had been protected by a sheet of glass ! The slot cut all round the jamb of the panel in which this was placed remains *all round*, so that the glass sheet must have been built into its place, and could not have been afterwards introduced. Over the panel is a niche containing the standing figure of Thomas, which, save the loss of the head, is otherwise perfect. The clasped hands show that he was represented as praying. Such a standing figure of a monumental character, which this must have been intended to be by him, is very unusual in England.





ON
THE ANCIENT COURT RECORDS
OF THE
BOROUGH OF SALFORD.

BY C. MAKINSON, ESQ.,
ALDERMAN.

(*Read at the Manchester Congress, 1894.*)



THE manuscript volume to which I desire to draw the attention of the Congress is undoubtedly one of the missing Books of Record of the "Portemannemoot",¹ or Court Leet of the Free Borough of Salford, and which exercised its powers subject to the authority of the Ancient Charter of 1231;² which Charter, it will be remembered, is exhibited in Peel Park Museum.

The volume consists of some 530 closely written pages of Old English manuscript, in different handwritings, with numerous abbreviations; and considering that it has lasted, and been constantly used at least twice a year for upwards of seventy years, it is in a remarkably good state of preservation. Although some two or three pages at the beginning, and one or two in the middle, have been more or less torn away, the binding, as a whole, is firm and compact, and the paper thick and durable, though the book, of course, bears strong evidence of its ancient origin.

Its records extend over a period of about seventy-two years, comprising one of the most momentous and interesting epochs of English history. It contains a record of the proceedings of one hundred and twenty-

¹ So spelt in the Charter, but this word is frequently abbreviated, and generally spelt "Portmote" in the records.

² The Charter is undated; but, in the opinion of certain antiquaries it was probably granted in the year 1231.

six Portmotes or Courts Leet, held generally twice a year, namely, in April and October, from the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1597) to the ninth (twenty-first) year of the reign of King Charles II (1669), thus covering the troublous times of the trial and execution of King Charles I, the era of the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth, the times of Spenser, Ben Jonson, and Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, and John Bunyan; also of Archbishop Laud and John Hampden, and the abolition of the Star Chamber; also of the great plague of London and the great fire of London; the times also of Humphrey Booth the elder, to whose munificent benefaction the Borough of Salford is so largely indebted, and whose name and the names of his sons, grandsons, and other descendants, repeatedly occur in the manuscript.

As far as my investigation has gone, there is no mention in the book (as, indeed, one could hardly expect) of any of these great historical personages or events; but the fact may possibly lend additional interest to the volume, from the reflection that whilst such great personages were living out their lives, and such thrilling occurrences were transpiring in distant parts of our own country, our civic forefathers were busily engaged in discharging the duties of local government in Salford.

The heading of each sitting of the Court gives the date of hearing and the name of the Steward before whom the Court is held, and the names of the Boroughreeve and others in attendance are usually stated.

There do not seem to be many, but there are some, lapses in the successive holdings of the Court. In a few instances there is only one Court held during the year, whilst in a few others—as, for example, in the years 1643 and 1645—there is no record of any Court being held at all; and yet there is no appearance of any leaves having escaped the binding in these places.

The Portmote was a Court of Record held before the Steward of the Leet, being a “King’s Court” granted by charter to the head of the manor. “Its original intent”, says Wharton, “was to view the frank-pledges (that is, the freemen within the liberty), who, according to the

institution of King Alfred, were all mutual pledges for the good behaviour of each other. It was annually the custom to summon all the King's subjects, as they respectively grew to years of discretion and strength, to come to the Court and there take the oath of allegiance to the King. The other general business was to present by jury all crimes whatever that happened in their jurisdiction, and not only to present, but also to punish, all trivial misdemeanours. The Steward might fine, or imprison, or take a recognizance of the peace. All fines were recoverable by action of debt or distress, but an amercement was generally the act of the jury. In some manors the jury chose the Reeve or other chief municipal officer."

Salford was declared by its charter to be a "Free Borough", whatever that implied; but the freedom, in one sense at least, seems to have been confined to its own kith and kin. It was certainly not a place given "to entertain strangers unawares"; and one of the most striking functions of this Court, and one very frequently exercised, was to preserve the exclusiveness of its inhabitants. No "foreiner" or stranger was permitted to reside within its boundaries, and all such as were found there without the sanction of the authorities were ordered to depart, or to be summarily ejected, save in some cases where the host was prepared to become responsible that they should not be "burthensome to the towne". The object was, no doubt, to prevent the settlement of poor people there; but the restriction seems to have been applicable to all classes of strangers, as officers of the Court and well-to-do people were not unfrequently presented for breach of the regulation.

It is rather remarkable that I have not so far discovered any entry relating to a serious crime committed, or a sentence of imprisonment inflicted, though the jurisdiction of this Court would, doubtless, not affect the ordinary jurisdiction of the Justices in Petty Sessions.

The business disposed of at these Courts may be summarised as follows:—The selection of the jury (usually consisting of fourteen).—The annual appointment of Boroughreeve, constables, and other officers.—The presentment of the attendance in Court of the property

owners and burgesses, and the names of absentees whose duty it was to do fealty, suit and service to the lord of the manor, and through him to the reigning Sovereign.—To hear and determine questions of disputed rights of way, and settle differences between owners of property and inhabitants respectively.—To enforce the duty of every inhabitant to keep clean and in good repair the pavement, watercourses, hedges, and ditches, adjacent to his or her property or holding.—To record the ownership and devolution of landed property.—To prevent the influx and settlement of persons liable, through poverty, to become chargeable on the town.—To inflict fines for gambling, drunkenness, assaults, and the like, and for breaches of the Ale and Beerhouse Acts (“Assize of Ale and Bread”); also for trespass and wandering abroad of cattle and swine and unmuzzled dogs.—To provide the “watch”, or police protection, and safeguard the town against fire, as also to furnish a supply of water for the public through the medium of the parish pump.—And for the laying and collecting of the moneys necessarily expended in these matters.

The business at the April Courts, however, appears to have been more formal, and less protracted, than at the October Courts, and the entries relating thereto are altogether in Latin or Norman-French; at least as to nine-tenths of them. A translation of one of them is set out in the Report.

It may be mentioned that in the headings of the Portmotes, which are almost invariably in abbreviated Latin, the name of the reigning Monarch is usually cited, along with the date; but with regard to those held during the Commonwealth, the name of the King is simply omitted, without any reference to the ruling power.

I find that during the whole period of seventy-two years there were ten Stewards of the Court only, namely,

1597-1620.—Sir Richard Mollineux, Knight,
afterwards Sir Richard Mollineux, Bart.

1620-1644.—Viscount Mollineux

1644.—Edward Holte, gentleman

1646.—Rado Asheton, Esq. (Armiger)

1649.—Peter Brereton, subsequently styled Esquire

- 1653.—Thomas Birch, Esq.
1654.—Jeremiah Whitworth, Esq.
1654.—Arthur Burron, gentleman
1656.—Robert Asheton, gentleman
1659.—No Court was held this year
1660.—Viscount Mollineux.

The Boroughreeves are, of course, very numerous, and it would be hardly worth while to set out the whole of them in this Report. Suffice it to say that the first Boroughreeve mentioned is Edward Bybby, in the year 1597, and the last is Myles Gathorne, in the year 1668. But amongst others are to be found, successively, the following, namely,—

Adam Pilkington (eight times Boroughreeve, at intervals), Robert Boulton (thrice), John Duncalfe (four times), Thomas Byrom (twice), Adam Byrom, Richard Knott, John Knott (twice), John Cliffe, Robert Pendleton, Francis Bowker, Humphrey Booth (ten times Boroughreeve between the years 1609 and 1632), Robert Booth, Humphrey Booth, junior, Adam Bowker, Peter Bowker, and Humphrey Booth (probably the grandson) in the year 1667. The last half-dozen Boroughreeves mentioned are successively, William Higinbothom (1662), James Johnson, Adam Wharmeingham, Nicholas Hawett, William Heggenbotham, and Myles Gathorne (1668).

It may be mentioned here that as the Charity of Humphrey Booth the elder was founded by deed of trust in the year 1630, about five years before his death, there can be no doubt that the Humphrey Booth mentioned above as having been ten times Boroughreeve of Salford was the founder of the Charity, which at the present day yields a net income of £13,411 *per annum* for the benefit of the poor of Salford. The Charity of Humphrey Booth, the grandson, which yields a present net income of £780 *per annum*, was provided for by his will in 1672, though not founded until 1695. The grandfather died in 1635, and the grandson in 1676. The first time a Humphrey Booth is named as Boroughreeve is in the year 1610, and the last time in 1647. A Robert Booth was appointed Boroughreeve in the year 1632, and a Humphrey Booth, junior, in 1634.

I ought to say that I have not strictly adhered to the spelling of the text, having modernised it a good deal, except by way of frequent illustration: indeed, the spelling of the original is not uniform, and is often at fault, the same words being not unfrequently spelt differently in many places; and this sometimes occurs even in the same paragraph or entry, which is certainly suggestive of a want of proficiency on the part of the writer in the art of spelling.

The fines inflicted for offences at the different Courts are also by no means consistent. For example, at the October Court, in 1658, offenders for not “Ringeing” or “yoakinge” swine were fined two shillings per swine, whilst for a similar offence, at the October Court in 1668, and elsewhere, the offenders were only fined three pence.

As some parts of the book, as before observed, are in Latin, and as much of the quaint old English handwriting is exceedingly difficult to decipher, I cannot vouch (with the limited time at my disposal) for the complete verbal accuracy of my transcripts, but I think the following extracts will be found to be substantially correct. They are taken, as will be seen, from dates widely apart from each other, and so as to give a fair idea of the nature of the manuscript. In fact, I venture to hope that they will even accomplish more than this, and that you will now be enabled to gather from them the general contents of the whole volume, because, having had the advantage of going more carefully through its pages, I am in a position to say that I hardly think any entry or paragraph of much interest or importance, save such as are of a routine or an oft-recurring character, has been omitted from this Report.

Presentments made by the Constables of Salford.

“Imprimis the 30th of October ’98.—Tusslement made betwixt Nicholas Bibby and William Sorocoulde. The said Nicholas gave the first blowe, 3d.

“The 6th of March.—An assault made by John Holland upon George Consterdine; in fine 6d.

“The 10th of March.—Affray made by John Holland upon George Consterdine, when the said John Golland drew bloode, 6d.

“The 15th of May.—An assault made by the aforesaid John Golland upon George Hollinworth, 6d.

"The 27th of May.—An assault made by James Horton upon John Holland, 6d.

"The 24th of May.—A tusslement made by Thomas Gorton upon one Stringer, 6d.; and also by Robert Ravald upon Humphrey Stringer, 6d. And by Henry Bradie, of Eccles, upon Thomas Gee, 6d. And by John Holland upon Henry Ainsworth, 6d.

"The 30th of July.—Affray made by Francis Kay upon Lawrence Hough, wherein the said Kay drew bloode, 6d.

"The 1st of August.—An assault made by Margaret, the wife of Francis Boyer, upon Lawrence Hough, wherein the said Margaret drew bloode, 6d.

"The 6th of October.—An assault made by George Sherrate, of Blackrod, drover, upon Thomas Owdham and James Crompton, wherein the said George Sherrate gave unto the said James Crompton a bloodye nose.

"We present Jane, the widowe of Spence Byrom, for that she kept her dog in the street contrarye to the order of the Court, but she hath promised to take it awaye with convenient speede between this and the feast of St. Martyn, the Bishope, or else she is to be merced."

"Borough of Salford, County of Lancaster.

"Portmote holden there on Wednesday, the 13th day of October, in the 17th year of the Reign of Charles, King of England, &c., A.D. 1641, before Richard Lord Mollineux, Viscount Maryburgh, Steward of the said Manor.

"The jury aforesaid do present John Kay for drawinge bloode and stabbinge, three and twentieth day of September, the bodies of Samuel Parcivall and Ester his wife; and for hurting and drawing bloode in the bodies of Charlotte Tidler, Nathaniel Benton, and James Snowden.

"The jury aforesaid, on the information of William Bradshaw, John Leach, Robert Hollins, and John Kay (Bilawmen), do present these persons following for unlawfully keepinge their swine unyoked: Adam Byrom for two unyoked, George Browning one unyoked, Richard Houldham for three" (and so on, with about twenty others, from 3d. to 6d. each).

"The jury aforesaid, by the information of Frederick Dukesell and Robert Widdowes, scavengers for the Lower Gate, do present these persons following for not sweeping their streets accordinge to the order: Gilbert Cookson, John Makin, William Bradshaw, Samuel Smethurst, Thomas Houldham, Thomas Collins, and Robert Suary.

"The jury aforesaid, by the information of Richard Key and George Bradshaw, scavengers for Greene Gate and Gravel Hole, do present Adam Pilkington for breakinge the footwaye with his

cart and horses before George Bradshaw his house, in the waye to the chapel, 3d.

"The jury, &c., Adam Byrom for the foulness of the street against his house, 3d.

"The jury aforesaid doth order that whereas Adam Bowker and Thomas Woofenden have collected certayne moneys, commonly called bearinge money, it is ordered that they paye in the same moneys unto the next Constables betwixt this and November next.

"And the jury aforesaid do order that all orders formerly made shall stande and be allowed (assessed).

"The Borough or Towne of Salford, in the County of Lancaster.

"The Portmote there houlden upon Tuesday, the 7th day of October 1656,¹ before Robert Asheton, gentleman, Steward of the said Court.

"The jury do amerse Robert Booth, Esq., for not causing the street to be swept and kept clean against his barn, in 3d.

"The jury do also amerse George Mann for makeinge a dunghill in the street, to the annoyance of the inhabitants, in the sum of 10d.

"The jury do amerse John Lightbowne, Esq., for keeping a mungrell cur unmuzzled, 6d.

"The jury amerse John Fletcher, of Berry, for making a rescue upon John Williamson and Richard Fox, in the execution of their assize, in 20s.

"The jury do also amerse Francis Birch and Katherine his wife for making a rescue upon John Williamson, after he had distrained of hire goods for fine due to the Lord of this town, in 20s.

"In full Court, Mr. William Higginbotham delivered unto Mr. Thomas Bolton, now Boroughreeve, a box with the charter of the town and twenty £1 bonds which belong to the Borough."

The foregoing extracts are specimens in detail of the proceedings of the Portmote Court at different periods of time, and give a fair idea of the nature of the business and the order in which it was disposed of.

The following are specific extracts, of more or less interest, selected successively from the entire volume :—

"1597.—The Jury dothe present that Isabell Howarth, wydowe, Richarde Thorpe, John Widowes, George Pendleton, and Thomas Gee have not the order for sellinge, but that the same sould a wyne quarte [of ale] for a penie.

¹ During the time of the Commonwealth.

"October 1601.—A broyle made the 7th day of August betwixt John Maicon and Alexander Naiden, and bloode drawne of Alexander by the said Makan in 4 severall places.

"The second of Auguste, or thereabout, Adam Hulme the younger, of Salford, did give John Leese, cobler, a bloode wype.

"October 1604.—The Jury doth augree that whereas there was an order made here in this Courte, in the six and twentieth deliverie of our late Queene Elizabeth, for the suppressing of the abuse at weddinge dyners, viz., that noe manner of persone or persones inhabiting within the towne of Salford and the vicinitie thereof, being requested to any weddinge dynner either within the liberties or without, should playe at the said dinner, eyther openlye or secrettelye, above 5s. And further, that noe persone makinge the said dinner should take above 5s. everye poole. Wee doe agree the said order so stand and remaine in force from the 15th day of this present October, subpcena everye person so offending to forfeit to his Majestye, for every tyme, 20s.

"April 1608.¹—The Jurye doth find there is no Cookestoole, but a payre of stocks and the dungeone to punishe unreasonable women in.

"The Jurye doth present that George Byrch, of Manchester, is departed since this last Courte, but who is his heyre we know not.

"Also that Jane, the wife of Ralph Romage, made an assaulte and affraye uppon Ane, the wife of Robert Hygenson, at which tyme the saide Jane dyd draw bloode by scrachinge her by the face, and the sayd Ane drew bloode uppon the sayd Jane in breakinge her head in her one defence.

"October 1608.—Presentment for the abuse of the pompe. Imprinis upon William Chorlton and George Percivall for washing a calf's head and linen cloths under the pompe.

"James Goodwine for breakinge the pompe.

"The wiffe of James Corner for washing clothes under the pompe.

"May 1614.—The 8th of May 1613, there was a fraye betwixt John Holland and Mary the wife of Francis Bowker, at which time the said John Holland drew bloode upon the said Mary.

"The Jurye doth order that noe inhabitant of Broughton shall laye any donge betwixt the Court House and the gate which devydes Salford and Broughton, subpcena 20s.

"October 1616.—The Jury doe present Mister Bradshawr for not makinge good a gate and his hedge betwixt Thomas Seddon and him.

"We doe present Rachael, the wife of Robert Ramsbottom, for makinge a tusslement with Marye Lorosone, and drewe bloode upon her, the 24th of June 1616.

"Also Fany, the wife of George Halle, for a common scould.

¹ The year of John Milton's birth. He died in 1674.

"Also James Cottrell for a common drunkard.

"October 1623.—The Jurie consideringe that it was ordered at the last Leete that Roger Unsworth, of Unsworth, should have repayred the pavement in the Back Street, which he houldeth by lease under the Ryght Honorable William Earle of Derby, hath not done it, therefore the Jury doe order that the said pavement shall be repayred betwixt this and Christmas next. Subpcena 20s.

"The Jurie, by the information of Ellis Makin and Steven Bestwicke, do presente the same Ellis Makin, Geo. Cranedge, and Geo. Scoales, for permitting their dogges and bitches to wander abroad unmuzzled. 6d.

"October 1628.—And whereas the Dungeon or Prison-house standing upon Salford Bridge, belonginge unto the said Towne, wanteth repayre, the Jury do order that the mislayers shall lay a levy within the said towne, competent for the repayr thereof, and the mysegatherers to gather it.

"October 1628.—The Jurie aforesaid do presente Peter Howgill and Thomas Byrom for playinge at Tables in the house of John Preston upon the 13th day of October 1627, after nine of the clock at night.

"Also Robert Ryecrofte for playinge at Tables in the house of John Preston with a stranger, the 20th of March 1627.

"Also John Mairs and William Manchester for playinge at Tables in the house of John Preston.

"October 1629.—Item. The Jurie aforesaid do present Ferdinando Pott for makinge an assault upon George Holland, of Salford, the 21st of December 1628. 12d.

"Also John Holland for makinge an assault upon Ferdinando Pott the same day. 6d.

"The Jurie aforesaid do present Anne and Margaret Buckley for common scoulds.

"October 1630.¹—Item. The Jurie aforesaid do presente Richard Holland, of Manchester, blacksmith, and Wm. Bibbie of the same, paynter, for a brawle and bloodwipe, the 21st of February 1629. 12d.

"Also Peter Boardman, of Bradford, and James Barker of the same, collier, for makinge a brawle and bloodwipe the 16th day of May 1630. 12d.

"October 1631.—Item. The Jurie aforesaid present Robert Smith, of the Cross Lane, for tipplinge and night walkinge, the 5th of April 1630. 6d.

"October 1644.—Item. The Jurie aforesaid doe find that Mr. Henry Wrigley, being lately Burroweve, had committed to his charge and trust the Charter of the Towne, with one other box of wrytings, and one lether bagg with wrytings in it, and two Courte books, with certain Bonds for security of the Towne from strangers

¹ The year when Booth's (the elder) Charity was founded.

that were in danger to be troublesome; and the said Henry doth but for the present bring in one book, delivered to Mr. Pilkington, now Burrowreeve.

"Att this Courte was delivered up by Mr. Wrigley to the Burrowreeve, Mr. Pilkington, for this yeare eleven Title Deeds of wrytings and the Charter of Salford, one other wryting on parchment concerning Toll, and 12 Bonds on paper to secure the Towne from strangers coming to dwell in the Towne, one wooden box and one bagge.

"October 1646.—Item. The Jurie aforesaid, by the information of the said Constables, do presente John Kirshawe, alias Rawson, his wife, and Robert Hollins, his wife, did breake John Kirshawe's wife's head that it bled, October the 12th, 1646. 1s.

"Also Henry Beck and his wife, and Robert Widowes and James Widowes, for wrangling in the streets, and Henry Beck had blood drawn on his face. 1s.

"Item. The Jury aforesaid do order that the Constables chosen for this yeare to come shall buy two Bills on the Townes charges for to keep Manchester watch with, according to former customs, and that the watch shall go by the Bill from doore to doore, as formerly it hath done.

"October 1648.—And whereas their is information this day brought unto this Jury, by several of ye inhabitants of ye Borough of Salford, that Thomas Woofenden, late of this town, have received several sums of money from several of ye inhabitants of the said town, upon ye return unto their habitations after the late time of visitation of this town with the pestilence, under the name of mullet money. This Jury therefore doth order that the said Thomas Woofenden and all others that have received any of the said mullet money shall restore and repay to such persons so much money as they have received of them severally, within the space of one month after this present Court.

"October 1650.¹—Whereas their is great abuse committed by divers persons who bring coals to be sold in Salford and Manchester, by gelding and robbing their loads before they come to the town, we do order that whosoever shall so robbe, geld, or take away some portion thereof, and afterwards sell them for whole loads, shall forfeit that or those loads so robbed, and the assurers for that purpose shall seize upon them, and afterwards they shall be distributed amongst the poore.

"October 1654.—We, the Jury, do present Mr. William Roadley and Edmund Oulldham, for received of Katherine Oulldham, the daughter of Edmund Oulldham, now being with child, and therefore we being fearfull of her being burdensome to the towne, do

¹ This and the forty-five subsequent extracts are during the period of the Commonwealth.

give them ten days tyme for her removal; and in case she does not remove in this tyme, they are to pay £5.

“April 1655.—Whereas the Charter belonging to this Borough and Towne hath formerly remained in the hands of Adam Pilkington, gentleman, deceased, and is now in the hands of Mr. Thomas Pilkington, his son, we, the Jury, do therefore order that the said Mr. Thomas Pilkington shall bring the said Charter, together with such other books or writings as remain in his hands and custody, and which belong to this towne, and deliver the same to the present Burroreeve of this towne, at or before the 4th day of June next, to be by him kept during the time of his office, and so to other his successors, to be kept for the use of the said Burroreeve, and according to the ancient customs of this towne, upon paine of five pounds. And that the Burroreeve, upon receipt of the same, shall give the said Mr. Pilkington his note for the receipt thereof.

“October 1655.—The Jury do order that whereas Martha, wife of Peter Ffarrant, did most disorderly abuse Mr. Adam Warmingham, then Constable of this towne, by most uncivell language, in the execution of his assize, the Jury doth therefore order that the Constables for the present year shall put the bridle upon her, and bear it for one whole hour.

“October 1668.—The Jury having possessed a box, together with 50 bonds, the charter, together with a letter from William Gerard, from Mr. William Higginbothame, the said Boroughreeve, doe order the same to Mr. Myles Gathorne, now Boroughreeve, together with a deed of Peter Seddone.”

There are, of course, many other interesting inquiries which might be suggested on a more minute and extensive examination of these records, but I trust sufficient matter has been deduced in this Report to establish their importance, at any rate from a municipal as well as an archæological point of view.

Judging from the size and contents of the manuscript volume, the probability is that there are still missing what is equal to about ten more volumes of similar size to complete the series. Whether these or any of them will ever be recovered is a matter of conjecture. Efforts have from time to time been made in that direction without success, and judging from the peculiar way in which this present volume has come to light, and the distant part of the country where it was found, it appears not unlikely that the rest of them, if in existence, which is doubtful, are scattered about in different places. Whether

it is worth while to pursue a systematic course of advertising for them, which would be necessarily widespread and costly, is a matter for the Corporation or your Committee to decide.

I may be permitted to add, however, that until every effort has been made to discover the missing volumes, I think it would be hardly worth while to produce a printed transcript (*verbatim et literatim*) of the present volume.





RESEARCHES AND EXCAVATIONS
IN
ARGOLIS, PHOCIS, BOEOTIA, AND OTHER
PARTS OF GREECE.

BY J. S. PHENÉ, LL.D., F.S.A., V.P., V.P.R.S.L., MEMBER OF
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF ATHENS, ETC.

(Read 20th March 1895.)



IN the excavations at Mykenae by Dr. Schliemann being made known to the public, my friend Mr. William Simpson, at that time the chief artist on the staff of *The Illustrated London News*, was commissioned to go to Greece and see Dr. Schliemann, and, if possible, the exhumed relics also. Calling on him, by chance, at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn Fields, he told me he was leaving at eight o'clock the same evening for Greece.

The Peloponnesus and its surrounding islands had already provided a field for my former researches, and I inquired if a companion would be agreeable? 'Had I known earlier,' he replied, 'I should have been glad; but time now makes it impossible, as I leave this house at eight o'clock.'

It was sharp work, but my passport, always ready, only required a fresh *visé* or two, and rushing home, packing my travelling bags, procuring circular notes, and calling at certain embassies and consulates, and I was with him at half-past seven, and, to his surprise, once more ready for the glorious East.

Athens had changed greatly since I first visited it, and much of its improvement had taken place since I had then last seen it. The police regulations gave a

promise of security, and enabled me to plan expeditions in directions supposed to be then free from brigands.

On this occasion Mr. Simpson and I were entertained by Mr. Stewart, the British Minister, and I met the Marquess of Bute, with whom I had already been in communication relative to archaeological researches in the Island of Bute, and from whom I obtained some valuable information upon the particular study to which I have devoted so many years at great financial cost. Mr. Sneyd was then with the Marquess, and I was asked on several occasions to accompany them on moonlight excursions to the Acropolis, the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, and surrounding objects of interest. On one of these occasions three owls, the emblems of Minerva, settled on the western pediment of the Parthenon.

Did time permit, I could dilate on the exceeding beauty of these moonlight scenes, and the charm of the enjoyable unmolested excursions, but my subject in the present paper is mainly limited to the mysterious Argolic district.

Mr. Simpson having introductions to King George, our expedition was most successful at Mykenae.

As his special object demanded great exactness in pictorial representation, I had much leisure, during our stay there, to inspect those features of archaeological, architectural, and topographical interest, which were to me all absorbing. During my solitary rambles, I measured the district of Mykenae and planned the area shown in the map now exhibited, which was published in the *British Architect* from my survey.

There was not a hole or cranny of the wondrous walls, the Treasuries, the supposed tombs of Electra, or of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, and other points of interest I did not look into. The summit of St. Elias, the "Ἁγιον" Ὄρος, or holy mount, above the city, with the remains of its small mystic temple, difficult of access, was particularly entrancing. It forms the centre and most lofty of three summits, which rendered the district a sacred one. Three summits being the most striking feature in the location of almost every place of the special ancient worship I have so long studied, too

voluminous even to refer to here, but ranging from the orientation of the Mount of Olives, in reference to the sacred place of sacrifice, found in full functional operation by the refugee from Ur of the Chaldees, and therefore long existent prior to his coming; to the triple points of Cruachan on the east, or the Eildons or Roman Trimontium on the west side of Caledonia.

While comparing places so widely distant from each other, it may not be unsuitable to note the close resemblance, in form and structural arrangement, of the stone monuments west of the roadway of approach to the citadel of Mykenae, with many similar remains in Britain and Western France.

The visits of Phocaeans and early Greeks to the Atlantic coast, and their well-known settlement at Massilia—Marseilles—indicates communication between the makers of these western rude stone monuments and those near Mykenae.

In my paper on "Golden Apples", read before this Association in March 1893, I traced a people from Thrace, who appear to have gone there from Persia, by means of their sacred trees, to western France and Britain; and described some of their ceremonies and names as still existing in the Girond and other districts near the Rhone. This additional point tends to support the former in the intercourse between the maritime visitors of the East and West.

From the summit of St. Elias, near the mystic temple, the whole plain of Argos is visible. And as several excursions were made to Nauplia, Tiryns, Argos, etc., the localisation became one of extreme interest.

The close proximity of Nemea, with its one great local truncated height of Apesas, indicates a point which presented itself forcibly to my mind. The position of Apesas with reference to the heights above Mykenae assimilates to the three summits of Olivet and the sacred mount of Sacrifice to their west already referred to; except the difference of direction to the east and north, but the two highest points were visible from each. The Nemean lion of course was not a quadruped, but a local potentate. But the badge, or armorial bearings,

of the house of Mykenae was the lion. Is it too much to suppose that Nemea with its sacred grove, its theatre, stadium, its later temple to Zeus Nemeius, and its ancient Hellenic foundations, was the place of public worship and festive games presided over by the rulers of Mykenae?

It was a place of very archaic sacrificial worship. Perseus having traditionally sacrificed on the solitary mount to Zeus Apesantius. But Perseus is known, in mythology, as the dragon slayer. The tomb of Opheltes was in the Nemean Grove, and Opheltes was killed by a dragon or serpent. All this points strongly to Apesas being a place of immolation to the dragon. On examining the truncated summit, not a few indications of levelling by labour were apparent. An early original levelling, for ceremonial purposes, was not improbably much increased to procure stone for the subsequent temple and other public buildings. I can imagine no place promising more fertile return for excavation than the accumulated ruins and *débris* near the Doric temple and the site of the sacred grove.

My suggestions as to searching the mass of ruins at Pergamus led to the discovery of the *Gigantomachia*, now at Berlin.

Pausanias describes the tomb of Opheltes as being surrounded with a stone inclosure in which were several altars. This corresponds *exactly* with the stone inclosure of the tombs at Mykenae.

The whole matter is strengthened by the fact that Nemea, like Olympia, and the area for the Isthmian games, was a sanctuary. It was not a place of habitation, though a village in the neighbourhood, supposed to have been called Bembina, was said to have been the haunt of the lion, the cave of which is still shown. There are several similar caves in the valley, and they may have served as dungeons for captives, till the period of immolation arrived, under the lion-chief of Mykenae.

Perseus is said to have taken Cyclopean builders to the district of Argos, and also to have ruled at Tiryns. This is a strong indication that he built Mykenae while occupying Tiryns. He successfully opposed the introduction of the Bacchic orgies or serpent ceremonies at Argos,

and was worshipped as a hero-demigod in the plain between Argos and Mykenae. Herodotus refers to a temple to Perseus at Chemmis, in Egypt, which is very remarkable, as the plan of Tiryns, which I carefully measured, accords in device with the Egyptian temples.

Games of great importance were established at Nemea; so great that they ranked as one of the four great national festivals of the Greeks. Over these games, called Nemea or Nemaia, presided at intervals the supreme powers of Argos, Corinth, and Cleonae. But Argos and Mykenae were ruled by Agamemnon, who also subdued Sicyon, really the commercial port of the north of Argolis, as Nauplia was of the south.

Cleonae, always classed by Roman writers as a part of Argolis, does not appear as under the rule of Argos in Greek writings, but rather as an independent state. This however could, from its smallness, hardly have been the case practically. Argos was confederate and closely connected with it.

It would thus appear that the Nemea were very much under the power of Argos. From its inland position, the conical form of its site, the temple of Hercules, and other points, Cleonae was probably a sacerdotal city, inhabited by priests and officiators at the successive sacrificial ceremonies performed on Mount Apesas; as the dragonistic rites, succeeded by the Hellenic ceremonies instituted by Prometheus in Sicyonia, and consequently at Cleonae, required functionaries. Its close proximity to the sacred area, and its being the only inhabited town near it, would seem conclusive on this point. But its form, the conical hill around which it was uniformly built up to the summit, being formed into six great circular ramparts, which, like the walls of Ecbatana, and other cities of sun-worshippers, evidently had reference to the heavenly bodies, clearly distinguishes it as a sacred abode of the archaic priests of Helios. It would, therefore, be free from military rule, as the sacred hill of Argolis.

It is said that Prometheus deceived Zeus by the introduction of the "Hellenic Sacrifices". This seems strongly to indicate that a site originally devoted to

dragonistic sacrifice was defiled, and unfit for purer worship. It seems to have rendered the district so sacred to the Greek mind, that the name Μηκώνη,—Mekone, was given to the place subsequently called Sicyon, which is admitted to have been a sacerdotal name, as under it the district was called the “dwelling-place of the blessed.”

The whole of the north of Argolis was, therefore, a sacred area, and in times prior to the Pelopidae was apparently the sanctuary of the whole of the country on the southern side of the Corinthian gulf, which was known as Aegialeia, which name was borne by the present Sicyon as the capital or place of worship.

The dragonistic worship must have existed at Sicyon, as well as at Apesas, as the former was, from being one of the earliest abodes of metal workers, of Cabeiric occupation, and amongst the Cabeiri the dragon was a chief deity. In that sense it also bore the name of Telchinia.

The story of the foundation of the Nemean games seems to set aside all question of the dragonistic ritual on Mount Apesas. Opheltes being slain by a dragon, the retaliation by death of the dragon, and the sacerdotal and regal questions involved, open up the grandest insight into the earlier worship of the Greeks, which is markedly dracontic; and upon close examination seems to appertain to Zeus himself.

Condensed in a few words it stands thus. Cadmus, in search of his sister Europa, is ordered by the oracle at Delphi to cease his search, and to build a city on a site to which a cow should direct him; and he accordingly built Thebes. About to sacrifice the cow to Athena, he directed water to be brought from a well sacred to Ares. This *well* was guarded by a *dragon*, who is described as a *son* of Ares, therefore a *man*—a *dragon-priest*, who killed the men sent by Cadmus.

The latter then slew the dragon, and, as advised by Athena, “sowed the dragon’s teeth”. These grew into armed men, who slew each other, five only remaining, who were founders of the noble families of Thebes. Cadmus, evidently for the homicide of the priest, was

condemned to penal servitude, for a period which is not clearly defined. He then ruled; and Zeus gave him Harmonia as his wife. *All the gods of Olympus honoured the nuptials by their presence.* Cadmus made a formal presentation to Harmonia of the peplos and of the metal works given him by Hephaestos, showing the connection of dragon-worship with the Cabeiric, confirmed by the breastplate of Agamemnon being decorated with three dragons. After which Cadmus and Harmonia were changed into dragons, and were conveyed by Zeus to Elysium.

The story of Opheltes is almost a repetition. The two cannot be separated, as the *dramatis personae* are too closely interwoven.

A conspiracy was formed against Thebes. Adrastus, King of Argos, aids a son of the Theban king in an attack on his late father's city. Five well-known chiefs join them, and their party is known under the title of the "Seven against Thebes." These chiefs, on their way from Argos, met the child Opheltes near Apesas, who was in the hands of his nurse. The child was the son of the priest of Zeus. The nurse left the child to take the chieftains to a *well*, during their absence Opheltes was killed by a dragon. The seven chiefs slew the dragon, and instituted funeral games, to celebrate the catastrophe, every third year.

As Opheltes was the son of Lycurgus, not the law-giver of Sparta, but King of Nemea, and is also called the son of the priest of Zeus, the oriental features of priest and king come forward, and the whole appears to have been the outcome of a sacerdotal opposition, and the institution of the Nemean games and sacrifices clearly displaced the dragon rites.

Much as the later poets and mythologists have changed the earlier stories, I find no satisfactory explanation of the sowing the dragon's teeth at the founding of Thebes by Cadmus, though it seems to me very apparent, from the local history.

Evidence enough exists of the previous dragon-worship in the murder by the dragon-priest of the innovators, by a substituted sacrifice under Cadmus, and

of the consequent hostilities. These hostilities would be the more bitter because Cadmus was clearly a deserter from their cause, or, as we should say, a pervert. He had joined the school of Athena, or, of the arts and sciences. He was clearly instructed to institute the sacrifice of oxen in lieu of human beings. He introduced letters, though he retained his Cabeiric calling, by working the mines in Thrace, combining metallic art with mental development.

In Boeotia were two antagonistic cities, Athenae and Eleusis, the one using the dragonistic rites of Demeter, the other the enlightened advancement of Athena. Both Pelasgic, and therefore the more hostile.

These cities were engulfed by Lake Copais, and the need for restoration evidently led to the directions to Cadmus to found Thebes. Being instructed by Athena, the promoter of wisdom, arts, sciences, agriculture, and letters, he of course adopted that party. Ares, the war deity (the war party), who presided over the water that was to supply the new city, clearly sided with the dragon-worship, and murder and reprisals ensued. Athena advised the sowing of the dragon's teeth, or, as we express it, the drawing of the dragon's teeth, or the *sowing or burying of the hatchet*. To sow, is to bury, and in a sense to destroy, at least to produce a complete change, and to get rid of the old form. In other words the adherents of Athena were directed to overcome the dragon-worshippers. The sowing of the teeth produced armed men, *i.e.*, hostilities ensued, and the chiefs under Cadmus were victorious, and became the aristocracy of the new city, Thebes. The sacrifice of oxen in lieu of men was established. And to quell the hostility arising from the two populations having to occupy one city, as each would necessarily strive for the mastery, Harmonia, *i.e.*, harmony and peace were established by Cadmus, *i.e.*, a compromise was effected.

He instituted the peplos or robe for the women, thereby not only giving dignity, but occupation by the manufacture of garments. And occupied the men by imitating the gold and metal work of Hephaestos. The worship of Cadmus and Harmonia after death, by dragon

emblems, appears to imply a revolution, and a restoration of the degraded worship. From the despised condition to which the Boeotians fell in the opinion of the people of Attica, who were the adherents of Athena, this is probable—certainly art was abandoned and advancement arrested.

In the establishment of the Nemean games similar hostile combats were instituted, to be fought out by opposing warriors; and even in the Olympic games the original institution was the same.

As there was a considerable interval between the founding of Thebes and the slaughter of Opheltes by the dragon worshippers, the open antagonism must have continued, and as the avengers were the seven chiefs on their road to attack Thebes, they were clearly of the enlightened school of Argos, and this makes it probable that the two sons of Oedipus headed the opposing religious factions, thus leading to such a restoration of the former debased worship.

The winged Sphinx was so like the dragon of the ancients that we have in it the very form of the dragon-deity, which was evidently restored and oracular in the time of Oedipus, with wholesale human sacrifices.

After my return from Asia Minor I took the way from Argolis to Boeotia, and descending with Clarke, and Leake, and Pausanias, to the semicircular curve of the Hesiodic Helicon, by way of Ascera to Thebes, the whole topography of the site was found to support this, and the various temples strongly confirm it. Thus—The city was divided into two equal parts by a stream; the Cadmeia, in which were the Acropolis, and the Agora; and the lower city or Amphion. The first contained a temple, stadium, etc., dedicated to Hercules, who was identified with the sun. A temple and an altar to Athena, and a statue of that goddess, with the ancient title Onga—Sophocles mentions two temples to her—Onga being Phoenician, and Cadmus of that people, who were dragonites, he clearly left them to found a more refined religion in Greece.

Outside the Cadmeia was a temple to the Cabeiri or art metal workers. The second or lower city contained

a theatre and temple to Dionysus and a monument to Semele.

This part, the Amphion, consists of a succession of sinuities, which, in outline, strongly resemble a serpent, the head or highest of which was sacred to Amphion and Zethus, and a more northern one to Dionysus. Over this serpent form rise the three peaks to the east.

Amphion was closely connected with Sicyon through his mother Antiope, and the rites of Dionysus were well-known serpent orgies. The lower city seems to have been occupied by the conquered serpent-worshippers.

On the Ismenian mount probably stood the dragon, above the well of Ares, in the form of the winged Sphinx : afterwards replaced by Apollo. Such a dragon is shown on the coins of Teos, and by Dr. Schliemann's "winged sphinxes".

Although mythologists have not seen the grand feature in the founding of Thebes, yet the story of the presence of all the Olympic deities at the harmonious establishment by Cadmus ; of the substitution of harmless sacrifices in lieu of human ones (which was the grand feature also of the Heraea at Argos), is, under such a description, the most powerful indication of the desire of the Greek mind to escape from the terrible rites of a worship of the most degraded and murderous ceremonial ; and representing the approval of the combined powers of heaven in its abolition, and the fearful yoke under which it oppressed the people. While the Cadmeian rites were so similar to those in honour of Hera at Argos that the term Harmonia seems to imply hallowing the institution of marriage in opposition to the degrading orgies of the dragon.

With the cessation of the dracontic worship, and the institution of the Heliacal, would cease, I assume, the exclusive power of Mykenae over the rites of Apesas ; and Argos, always averse to the former, would join with Corinth in preserving the then newly instituted games, which, being funereal, always a feature of dragonistic worship, would now celebrate its decease or disuse ; while their incorporation into the Greek Kalendar, by

the calculation of Nemeads amongst the Olympiads, clearly maintained the worship of *Helios*. In this case Cleonae, the sacerdotal city of the priests of the sun, would act as a moderator between Corinth and Argos; and the judgment of the Nemean arbiters was noted as equitable.

On the point of the lion, it is remarkable that one of the seven, who was of the party of *Adrastus*, bore on his shield the figure of a lion, and also was so styled, showing that my assumption of the dragon-man, as a priest, and the Nemean lion, as a king, is reasonable, from the expressions in common use at the time. Another of the seven was called the Boar, from his device.

This glance at the polity and religion of the district indicates my reason for a careful examination of it on such basis.

I have been enabled to work out the institution of dragon-worship in the various parts of Greece, and its introducers, but my subject must be at present localised to Argolis. I am able to show, however, that, in very early times, a great dracontic mission passed through Sicyonia, and from it, probably, the dragon ceremonies there were instituted.

Argos seems to have been always hostile to this worship. But the great fact remains, that the whole of northern Argolis was a scene of the most remarkable mystic rites, including the dragonistic surroundings of *Demeter* at *Phlius*, on another triple-peaked hill then dedicated to her, but now to the *Panagia*.

While the little church of *St. George*, always now dominating in Greece where the dragon was previously worshipped, stands at the entrance to the ascent by the sacred way, at the foot of the triple-peaked hill, *Tricaranum* (three-headed), the three peaks of which, described by *Ross* and *Colonel Leake*, really consist of one peak, forming the head as it were of a serpent with two vertical sinuations of a ridge, much less winding than that described, in my paper "*On Pre-Roman Works in Britain and Italy*", as existing in *Latium*, being governed by the natural form of the hill in each case. It would be vain to search for such forms as I

have found in Scotland and elsewhere in places covered with ruins and *débris*, but the natural form of the object worshipped would be even more impressive to a people willing to found cities where a cow should recline, as Thebes, and which object could be seen from great distances, as in the present case. Cuttings by labour giving prominence to the sinuosities are visible here as in Latium. The city, on the latter site, is said to have originated from the presence of a sow and her young.

I cannot leave this region of mystic rites without reference to a very remarkable connection between the four sites of the four great national festivities of the Greeks, marked by their celebrated games, which has not, I think, ever been noticed. I was particularly led to notice it in my visits to these four sites with this special object; after carefully reading the description by Aeschylus, of the signal given by Agamemnon to Clytemnestra from the Pergamenian Mount to the height at Argos. The distances are easy, as compared with Troy and Argos, for signals by fire. The plain of Olympia is hidden from Parnassus, but the mountain heights are grandly visible, as seen in my drawings. Signals could easily have been made between all these places, so that by simultaneous arrangement, information of coming embassies, for peace or war, could be conveyed and anticipated; while to the public mind they would indicate nothing beyond an offering by fire to Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, or Helios. Assuming the signalling from Troy to Argos, the continuation to Delphi, and thence to Elis, by the mountain Erymanthus, would be a simple matter.

In vain we look now for the sacred groves. The remorseless Turks despoiled the Grecian mountains of their trees. But on Parnassus, which was not disturbed, I found the groves of superb indigenous trees telling how beautiful the sacred groves must have been. These trees, and the shrubs on the less elevated hills, being highly resinous, vast fires could be lighted in rapid succession from height to height; just as in the times of the oak forests in Britain the beacon hills could be illuminated with great rapidity.

In the Greek islands I was able, on several occasions, to signal to the captain of my yacht, to go on to a near landing-place, or to go back to my starting-place, by means of burning wild olive, ilex, and lentisk, all of which grow freely near the shores.

In addition to these points I have been able to work out connections in the foundations of the four festivals and their original forms of worship, which caused the institutions of the games, not hitherto identified. I had to make several visits to Argolis to work out all this, and to examine the various sites. Mr. Simpson and I returned to Athens after a close inspection of the district from Mykenae to the coast of the Gulf of Argos.

The arrival of the Princess of Wales at Athens occupied Mr. Simpson in making drawings of personages at the Greek Court. This left me free, and enabled me to have several interviews with Dr. Schliemann, Mrs. Schliemann, and their charming daughter. I also obtained permission, under a promise of secrecy, and a severe pledge to make no drawings, to inspect all the exhumed relics from Mykenae, then in the National Bank, a pledge which, till they were publicly exhibited at Athens, I religiously kept. This had been denied to Mr. Simpson, though supported by a letter from the King.

As Mr. Simpson expected to be occupied for some weeks, we managed to leave Athens for Troy by a date which left me free to return again to Argolis, to visit Sparta and Mistra, and to examine the Taygetus range, I started again, retracing our former route with minute care.

In riding over the plain of Argos my horse stumbled at a small mound only a few inches in height. I took slight notice of it at the time, but it made me more watchful, and I afterwards observed some such slight risings in other parts of the plain. They recalled to my memory similar slight irregularities of surface which I had encountered on the Marquess of Lothian's estate of Timpendean, and which there covered very interesting relics. I had planned to take the whole district from west to east, from Lerna to Epidaurus, and to ascend

Agamemnon's beacon mount of Arachnaeus, and to return by Troezenia, and the islands on the coast; a district, which in common with Nauplia, was originally Egyptian.

It was less the power of the man-healer Aesculapius, than the delicious bracing air, the invigorating mountain rambles, the health-giving aroma from the resinous trees and shrubs, which even the Turks seem to have spared for their own delight at Epidaurus, that almost compelled health and restoration to the sick; all the temples of Aesculapius being placed on very healthy sites. In the present case the delight from enchanting sea views, of Aegina, Athens, and the coast, with delicious sea breezes and shelter from inclement winds and unusual heat, already anticipated convalescence.

A tradition leads to the conclusion that the groves around Epidaurus were graced with the orange in very ancient times as they are now. It is recorded by Apollodorus, that at the marriage of Zeus and Hera on Mount Thornax, in southern Argolis, all the gods honoured the latter with presents, and that Ge, the earth, presented her with a tree bearing golden apples, one of those which had been watched by the Hesperides in the garden of Hera, near Mount Atlas.

The ride round the coast of Troezenia was charming. The islands I inspected on a subsequent visit to Nauplia. Passing Nauplia I found what I had already observed, but had not so far had time to examine, several pyramidal structures, small pyramids, in short, which occur at intervals over the plain of Argos.

Before describing these, which certainly are not Greek in origin, it may be well to note the fact that, with the exception of Argos itself, not only the northern part but the whole district of Argolis from Sicyon on the north to Tiryns on the south; and from Lerna on the west to Epidaurus on the east, was entirely dracontic in its worship. The extreme concentration of the worship in Argolis is noticeable; it included also the Bacchic serpent orgies, and those of Demeter in the south, even more prominently than at Phlius.

This is interesting as showing the opposing worship.

Hera, the wife of Zeus, was the only really married one of the goddesses of Olympus, and was, in consequence, the goddess of marriage, and of the birth of children; in other words she presided over what is known as female honour and legitimacy.

In the dracontic ceremonies the most debasing orgiastic rites were prominent. The two things were as light and darkness, no compromise could be made; Argos was assumed to have been the place of her birth, and three temples existed to her, one in the city, one near the Acropolis, and the Heraeon, between Argos and Mykenae. Being the wife of Zeus, it is reasonable to suppose that when the Heliacal worship was introduced in his honour in northern Argolis, the Heraea in honour of his wife were instituted at Argos, which was probably previously devoted to the serpent, as Argos also had its three sacred summits on its sinuous ridge, on one of which is its Acropolis.

The Heraean ceremonies were dignified and majestic. The priestesses were of undoubted integrity, and the high-priestess, in opposition to Demeter's two dragons, was drawn in a chariot by two snow-white oxen. In the procession, which was headed by 100 oxen, there followed a vast number of men and youths in armour; and matrons and maidens of the highest birth, clad in splendid attire with their hair loose and flowing, were the vindicators and attestors of virtue and conjugal fidelity. The ceremony ended in the sacrifice of a hecatomb; the 100 oxen being slain and distributed to the populace. These more refined views spread over Greece, and gradually displaced the dark mysteries of the serpent-worshippers.

But all this was in the State that has been under consideration, which was undoubtedly the theatre of mysterious ceremonials unequalled by any other part or parts of Greece. It will be readily understood with what avidity any relics I might find would be treasured.

The stumbling of my horse on a small hillock had already given me pleasing anticipations of the possibility. But how was the matter to be accomplished. The vigilance of the Government by a military guard at Mykenae, and the frequent visits of police officials on

my route, indicated that any attempt at excavation would at once be checked. The rich finds by Dr. Schliemann would have made the matter more difficult, and raised opposition from him, as his permission to search included the whole of the district and plain of Argos. I therefore busied myself only with the small pyramids, and that in an informal manner, arranging so as to pass the two hours always demanded for the mid-day rest for the horses, in or near one of them. The men as a matter of course went to sleep after eating, till roused for travel; and I interested my dragoman in stories about the Egyptians, who Pausanias says settled at Nauplia, and who he asserts came from Egypt with Danaus.

We were on very good terms, and as I made it a mere matter of fun to search for some Egyptian relics, he and I, on several occasions carried on considerable excavations in and around these pyramids. I was also enabled by these means to examine some of the small hillocks already mentioned.

In the process of these diggings, conducted often by means of the wooden casings to my bedstead and other parts of my baggage, for I had to take such furniture as well as cooking apparatus, the full depth of the foundation was often reached, the soil being light and dry. I was able to ascertain that the substructure was without mortar, and also, in several instances, to find the basement on a rock. This is the case with Tiryns also. In several instances I found, what at that time I did not understand the value of, fragments of pottery, and a few examples of what seemed to me slag.

It was not till I had carefully examined the Troad, and the excavations of Hissarlik, as described in the *Journal* in 1892, that I was impressed with the idea that the pottery was the same I had seen at Argos. I did not collect the latter, as it then seemed to me valueless, but after repeated visits to Troy, I visited the islands on the coast, those off Troezen, in particular Hydra, and made a third visit to Nauplia.

Having refilled the excavations at the time, to prevent suspicion of my horse-keepers and baggage-bearers, I had good hope of again finding this pottery, having

carefully described in my note-book the pyramids and spots near them which I had examined, and on my return I found them, just as they had been replaced in their former positions of rest, and took them to my yacht at Nauplia.

Having, at Dr. Schliemann's suggestions, secured a quantity of the fragments of pottery when at Troy, I was able to realise the resemblance between them and those of the Argolic plain, which closely correspond. Several specimens I gave to our esteemed vice-president, Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., and to other friends, so that my own are only illustrations, but as such are sufficient for the purpose of comparison, including almost all the examples published in Dr. Schliemann's *Mycenæ* and *Ilios*.

As I did not intend to return to Nauplia again (perhaps not even to Greece), I was less careful as to the renewed excavations, and having provided myself, at Smyrna, with a light spade, the handle of which I had designed to fold into a small compass, to avoid attracting attention, I not only regained my formerly exhumed articles, but, by making further diggings, was rewarded by the three bronze objects I now exhibit.

There is nothing remarkable in the bronze mirror, nor the belt-buckle, but the bronze horse has a special interest. Homer uses the expression, "Ἄργος ἰππόβοτον (the horse-feeding Argos), showing that the place was famous for its horses and their pastures. But the singularity in this case is, that the formation of the horse, which is almost grotesque, is identical in outline with the horses now made near Troy, in terra-cotta, as toys for children, showing that this archaic form has been retained to the present day notwithstanding its want of proportion and symmetry. I exhibit an example of each.

While on the subject of these evidently Egyptian structures, of which no other examples exist in Europe, I may mention that in Sicynia the plan of the Temple of Titane, which I exhibit, is similar to the plans of certain temples in Egypt, and of designs also still existing in these islands, as at Sligo and other places in Ireland and Scotland, one of which I unearthed on the Duke of Argyle's estate at Ach-na-Goul.

Titane, which lies midway between Sicyon and Phlius, was sacred to Titan, described as one of the brothers of the Sun-Zeus: but as the Titans and Giants were intermixed in mythology, as being equally the children of Ge or Gaia, and as some of them were closely connected with the serpent, as in the Gigantomachia, now in Berlin (of which I was the first discoverer at Pergamos), there seems to be, in this case, a strong feature of the old worship. A temple to Athena was also on this acropolis, whose emblem was the serpent. There was here also a temple to Aesculapius, the dragon-god.

It is worth notice that many of the so-called giants' graves in the western parts of the British Islands are similar in design to the plan of the Temple at Titane.

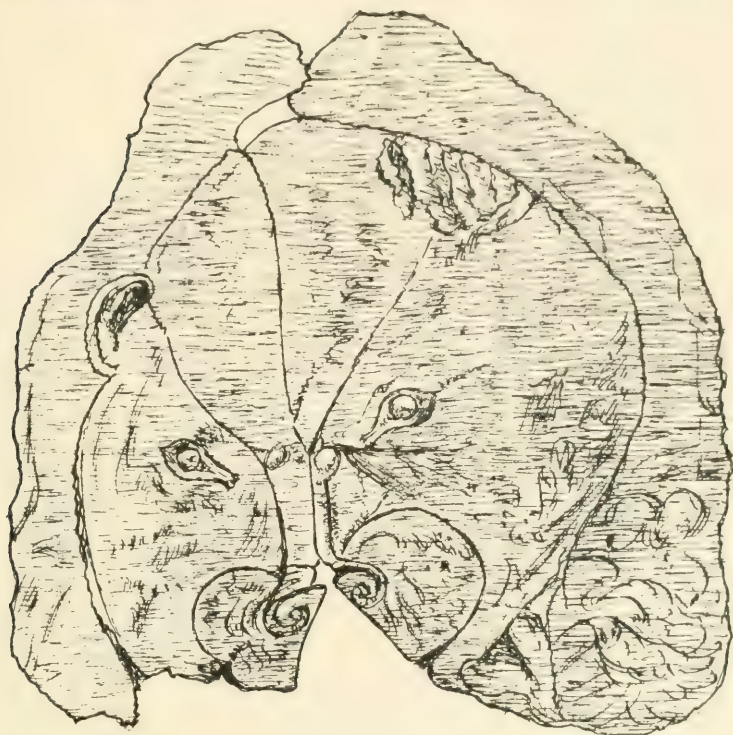
The worship of the serpent in Egypt was of quite a different kind to that of the Pelasgic Greeks, which was distinguished as dragon-worship, the deity being always propitiated by human sacrifices, as in the founding of Thebes, and the slaughter of Opheltes, which have been described.

It will be seen that my subject is entirely different from Dr. Schliemann's, yet there is a common base.

The fourth tomb in the Agora at Mykenae, opened by him, contained five bodies. The face of each, save one, had masks of gold; there were also signet-rings and a crown of gold on the head of one, and the *gold mask on the face was a lion's head*. Aeschylus describes *Agamemnon as a lion*, whose tomb this probably was, with his personal attendants. There was also the head of Hera with the sun.

In the third tomb gold crowns were also found to three bodies in it, and dragons and lions in solid gold; "six serpents round a central circle"; contests with lions; "a golden flying dragon"; stars, crosses, sceptres with crystal orbs; the sun with revolving stars, etc.; two figures entwined with serpents; an ornament in shape like the Druidical neck-plate, but decorated with points; a cross with entwined serpents; "six winged Sphinxes", which Dr. Schliemann connects with Oedipus; a coffer for sacred instruments; covered cups and caskets, apparently for sacred purposes, all of gold. Thus indicating a tomb of royal priests.

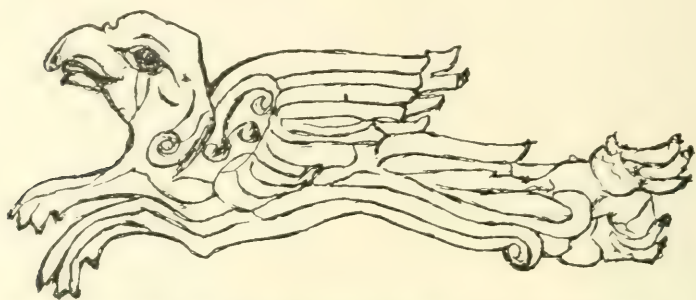
The lion-badge was, it would seem, brought from Asia by Pelops, where, with the sun, it still forms the Persian standard. Some of the stone ornaments are clearly Persian in design.



Gold Lion's Head Mask found on the Face of crowned Figure in
Royal Tomb, apparently that of Agamemnon.
From a Sketch by the Author, made on the Exhibition of
the Mykenae Relics at Athens.

Dr. Schliemann found no resemblance between the archaic pottery of Argolis (Tiryns and Mykenae) and that of Troy; but as these examples agree, they are quite distinct from other Argolic pottery; and as I exhibit a Trojan specimen agreeing closely with his description of the Tirynthian blackware, and an exact counterpart of a silver cup at Mykenae, the resemblance seems clear. I exhibit also, from the bottom of one of the deepest tombs in the Agora, an object probably of Egyptian or Phoenician colouring, closely resembling lapis-lazuli. It is a

fragment of some object crushed during the excavations, but it is very beautiful. It appears to me to have been the casket for holding the two crystal orbs found in this tomb; with it are these portions of bronze swords, also from the same tomb, the "third" or sacerdotal tomb.



Solid Gold Flying Dragon found on the Breast of a crowned Figure,
apparently a High Priest.
From a Sketch by the Author, made on the Exhibition
of the Mykenae relics at Athens.

Dr. Schliemann (p. 9 of his excavations at Tiryns) describes the water-conduits, but states that he could not understand their purpose, as they would not retain water. Nothing is plainer. Such conduits are found abundantly with the early Cyclopean works in Etruria. They are clearly to drain off water, not to supply it, and would be necessary in sudden rains, or, as at Tiryns, sudden floodings from the marshes. They are perfectly sanitarian in both Italy and Greece, and the exits from them were intended to be all along their courses.

One word in conclusion. If, as has been shown to be the case, the darkest mysteries of Greece culminated in Argolis, yet in Argolis arose that wholesome opposition to them which the great games and ceremonies called Heraea celebrated, and which promoted that moral honour and integrity among the Greeks that dignified their civilisation, their literature, and their art.

As a final remark I would impress on all interested in archaeology, that the two places most promising for excavations are Nemea (with Mounts Apesas and Cleonae) and Thebes, both being places where the contest for enlightenment was most valiantly fought out.



Proceedings of the Association.

WEDNESDAY, 6TH NOVEMBER 1895.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq. V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Members were duly elected :—

Rev. T. W. Daltrey, Rectory, Madeley, Salop.

Miss Scull, 2 Langland Gardens, N.W.

Francis Sills, Esq., 44 Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, Kent.

Honorary Foreign Member :—Mr. J. B. Pohath Kehelpannala, Gampola, Ceylon.

Honorary Correspondent :—Bristowe Wilkinson, Esq., Lanercost Road, Tulse Hill, S.E.

The death of Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A., V.P., *Hon. Treasurer*, was announced, with universal regret, and an eloquent tribute paid to his memory. It is hoped that a biographical memoir may be received in time for a place further on in the *Journal*.

The death of Mr. Lynam, Junior, who had actively co-operated in the recent Congress at Stoke-on-Trent, was also announced with much regret.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read a letter from Rev. Mr. Mayhew, bearing witness to the recent losses sustained by the Association through these deceases, and letters of condolence were ordered to be written and forwarded.

Thanks were ordered to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library :—

To the Society, for "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland", vol. v, pts. 2, 3.

" " for "Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", vol. xxviii, 1893-4.

" " for "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society", vol. xiii, pt. 2.

To the Society, for the "Archæological Journal", vol. lii, No. 206, June 1895.

„ „ for "Archæologia Eliana", pt. 46.

„ „ for "Archæologia Cantiana", vol. xxi.

„ „ for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", pt. lv, May 1895.

„ „ for "Archæologia Cambrensis", fifth series, Nos. 47, 48.

„ „ for Smithsonian publications: Fr. Boas, "Chinook Texts", 1894; G. Fowke, "Archæological Investigations in the James and Potomac Valleys", 1894; J. Mooney, "The Sioux Tribes of the East", 1894.

To the Editor, for "The Reliquary", vol. i, Nos. 3, 4.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited two Roman lamps from tombs in Corfu; also a new leaden insurance-badge of the beginning of this century, an object now very rare, and being sought after by collectors.

The Chairman exhibited the cast of a seal (unfortunately very imperfect) of John, Abbot of Rievaulx, attached to a deed in the Record Office, dated 1363. The cast was sent by Mr. H. A. Rye, who has investigated and written a paper on the "Canals at Rievaulx".

Mrs. Collier exhibited a collection of copper tokens and moneys, chiefly of the last century, including some of Staffordshire and other counties, France, Russia, and Brazil.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited drawings, and read a paper on the "Remains of Old Winchester House, Southwark", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*. He also exhibited a Roman bronze Hercules, Roman dice (one loaded), a string of Roman beads, and two fibulæ.

Mr. Barrett described his recent visit of exploration of the Roman wall in the neighbourhood of Hexham, where some curious *mortaria*, with metal pestles, have been recently discovered. He also spoke of the serious injury to the Saxon crypt at Hexham, done by the verger in search of Roman inscriptions under the present surfaces, which were being ruthlessly chipped away.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH NOV. 1895.

REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the library:—

To the Author, for "Devonshire Briefs", pt. 1. By T. N. Brushfield Esq., M.D.

To the Society, for "Archaeological Journal", vol. lii: second series, vol. ii, No. 3.

„ „ for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles", tome 9^{me}, livr. iv^{me}, Oct. 1895.

Mr. Barrett read a paper on "Lede Chapel, in River, co. York", and exhibited a diagram and drawings, which, it is hoped, will be published in a future part of the *Journal*.

Rev. V. H. Moyle, the Vicar, read a paper on "The Church of Ashampstead, co. Berks, and its Mural Paintings", exhibiting a series of photographs, which will find a future place in the *Journal*.

WEDNESDAY, 4 DECEMBER 1895.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. T. Blashill, V.P., was duly elected to be Honorary Treasurer in place of the late Mr. E. P. L. Brock, F.S.A.

Some examples of Roman tesserae discovered in Bishopsgate Street, about 17 ft. beneath the surface, were exhibited.

Mr. R. Quick, Curator of the Horniman Museum, exhibited, and read notes on, a Celtic and other curious bells. The Celtic bell was found at an old farmhouse at Bosbury, near Ledbury, amongst some old lumber.

Rev. J. Cave-Browne read a paper on "The Isle of Purbeck and its Marble", which it is hoped will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*, and Dr. Brushfield contributed some notes in further elucidation of the subject.





Obituary.

MR. E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A.

It is with much regret that we record the death of the Hon. Treasurer of our Association, which took place on the 2nd November. He was born on the 23rd Dec. 1832, at Clapham. His father was an old retired officer, and a member of a well-known Guernsey family. He had seen much service with his regiment in various parts of the world, and after the Peninsular War quietly retired and settled down.

Mr. Brock was the youngest of three sons, all of whom early showed artistic ability: one became an engineer; the second, a portrait and miniature-painter. After being at school in the neighbourhood of his father's house, at an early age he entered the offices of Messrs. Habershon and Spalding, architects, of 37 Bedford Place. Mr. Brock applied himself with great zeal and application to his work and studies, continuing by himself, in his spare hours, learning what he had not an opportunity of doing at school. Not neglecting his professional training, he entered the Royal Academy Architectural School. This period he often referred to with pride and pleasure, and affectionately treasured up his "bone", or token, that showed his right to enter the Academy for private study. His labours were crowned with success, for in 1854 he obtained the Society's Silver Medal for his drawings.

By his diligence and application he obtained a partnership with his employers in 1862, and also about this time he began to take an active interest in the congenial study of archaeology, combining this with his professional pursuits. In 1866 he became a member of the British Archaeological Association, in whose work he later took such an active interest, and which had for him great charms. Ever ready to appreciate the relics of a by-gone time, he always endeavoured to preserve what remained of the past.

In 1866 he married Charlotte, daughter of Nathaniel Clark, Esq., of St. George's Road, and formerly Master of the Mercers' Company. With his wife he lived with great happiness; but this time of great joy to him was, unfortunately, but short-lived, for about two years after his marriage his wife died, leaving him with two children. After

a lapse of some years he married Mrs. Smythe, widow of the late Captain Smythe, 33rd Regt., and daughter of the late Gordon Moir, Esq., of Chepstow Place. This lady still survives him, to mourn his loss.

It was about the time of his second marriage, in 1874, that Mr. Brock was left sole partner in the firm of architects, Mr. Habershon having retired; and it was about this time, too, that he commenced to be known in connection with his church work, both building and restoring old churches and buildings. This came from his ardent love and respect for old things, and combining this with his artistic tastes and professional abilities, he embarked on congenial work. He seemed to enjoy piecing together the old fragments and old stones of the buildings. Retaining as much as possible the characteristics and features of the original, he effected a genuine restoration.

Most of his work was done in Kent, but during the course of his professional career, and in pursuit of his archaeological studies, he had visited nearly every part of England. He had also visited the cities of Belgium and Normandy; and just a year before his death he had an opportunity, which he had so often wished for, to visit Rome. This was a subject of great delight to him, and during the time of his affliction he was ever hopeful that he might be spared to visit Italy again.

But it was not to be. In November 1894 a fatal malady commenced to assert itself. It was in June this year that it was discovered he was suffering from a terrible malady, the cure of which seems beyond human aid. When the serious nature of his illness, and the necessity of a very dangerous operation were communicated to him, he resigned himself with true Christian courage and fortitude, and calmly settled his affairs. The operation was successful, and gave relief, and hopes were entertained that a cure, perhaps even only of a temporary nature, had been effected; but it was without avail, for on the 2nd November, somewhat unexpectedly, he quietly passed away, his end being due to exhaustion after an attack of hæmorrhage; his mind clear to the last, on the day of his death busying himself in his affairs, he died in harness.

Apart from his connection with the Association and the Society of Antiquaries, he was for a long time Honorary Secretary to the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, and a large measure of its success is due to his energy and efforts.

His wife, son, and daughter, with a large circle of sympathising friends, are left to mourn his loss. Ever kind, generous, gentle and bright, we miss his genial presence and courtly feeling which endeared

him to all he was thrown with in his daily life, professionally and socially.

During Mr. Brock's long professional career he has carried out a large number of important works, a few of which may be mentioned : Normanhurst Court, Battle, the seat of Lord Brassey ; Picture Gallery at Baldstow ; Village Hospital, East Grinstead. A large number of churches were erected or restored, among them St. Augustine's, Highbury New Park ; Park Presbyterian Church, Highbury ; Hammerwood Church, Sussex ; a church for Lady Lampson at Rowfont ; Wallington Church ; St. Helen's, Ore, Sussex. The above were designed and erected in conjunction with Mr. E. Habershon.

After the retirement of Mr. Habershon in Mr. Brock's favour, the following may be taken as specimens of the work of the latter : Shaftesbury House, Shaftesbury Avenue ; German Orphanage, Dalston ; churches at Newhaven, Iping Marsh ; St. Columb's, Notting Hill ; St. Philip's, Cambridge ; St. Mark's, Forest Gate. As types of conservative restoration, the ancient churches of Westacre, Coldred, Staple, Crundall, Ruckinge, East Langdon, and Upper Hardres (all in Kent), may be taken as representing Mr. Brock's genuine regard for these old buildings. They were treated with tender and kindly consideration, as an antiquary always striving to retain what was ancient and of real interest to the fabric, and yet as an architect leaving the work substantial and sound, with a new lease of life.

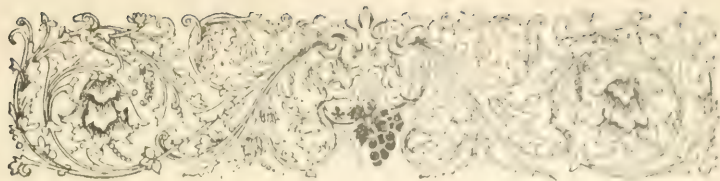
After the death of Mr. Drayton Wyatt, Mr. Brock took in hand the various works at Sudeley Castle, Winchcombe, for Mrs. Dent, and superintended the excavation of the remains of Winchcombe Abbey, and succeeded in the recovery of a large portion of the ground-plan of the church. Quite recently the Roman villa in the Wadfield, near Sudeley Castle, has been unearthed under Mr. Brock's direction.

Mr. Brock's architectural practice will be taken over by Mr. George Patrick, architect (now Hon. Secretary), who will be assisted by the late Mr. Brock's managing clerk.





SEALS OF THE FOREST.



Antiquarian Intelligence.

The King's Peace : a Historical Sketch of the English Law Courts. By F. A. Inderwick, Esq., Q.C. (London : Swan Sonnenschein and Co.)—The author of this interesting work has put into a small compass the leading points of the ancient and mediæval history of law as it has gradually been built up in England. Beginning at the Anglo-Saxon period, much space is devoted to the methods of procedure and the origin of practice as found to be in vogue among our forefathers ; such as, for example, the relation between the King and the forest, the various courts, the witenagemot, oaths, ordeals, and punishments. To the consideration of the office of Chancellors, and the history of the Great Seal, the author brings much legal knowledge ; and the illustration of the seal of Edward the Confessor, the first in which the so-called “type of majesty” occurs, appropriately introduced at this place, is one of the best in the book. A well illustrated history of English seals is, indeed, still a desideratum, although several of our members have laid the foundation for its preparation hereafter by works on different sections of these relics.

Then comes the history of the numerous law-courts, with some amusing instances of the proverbial delay therein arising, exemplified in the troubles of a certain Richard de Auesti, who, after persistently urging his suit for, and claim to, the lands of his uncle, William de Sackville, for six years, and spending all his substance in journeys, payments to friends, advocates, and witnesses, gifts and fees to Queen Elinor, the royal physician, and one Hakelot, a Jew money lender, at last prevailed on King Henry II to hear the cause personally, at Woodstock, about A.D. 1177. There is an interesting charter and seal of this personage in the British Museum (No. 24,607), which shows the prominent position of the litigant, who rides in armour, on his horse, as a baron or landed tenant of high social distinction.

Among many points connected with the law, which Mr. Inderwick has touched on in this manual, those relating to torture, the rack, and other punishments of various kinds, the Par and the Inns of Court

"Trailbaston", "Pypowders", and judicial costume, will be read with advantage by the antiquary, who will find recorded here a vast amount of information relating to these subjects, with which the author is evidently thoroughly well versed.

The forest laws and law-courts supply the text for a lengthy chapter, wherein their origin is carefully traced, and the details of their development worked out. There are, too, a map of the kingdom of England, showing the extent of the principal forests about the time of Magna Charta; and a plate (which we reproduce) of four curious seals, the first three of which bear the stag's head cabossed, which appears to have been used as a badge or emblem of forest office, viz. (1), the seal of Henry Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex, as Chief Justice of all the forests, etc., *citra Trentam*, of Queen Mary, about 1558; (2), that of Sir Giles Dawbney and Sir Reginald Bray, Knights, Justices in Eyre *citra Trentam*, 1497, with their arms impaled together; (3), that of Sir Thomas Lovell, Knight, Justice in Eyre *citra Trentam*, 1513; and (4), a seal of Halifax Town, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, illustrating the "Gibbet Law" of the Forest of Hardwick, which was co-extensive with the Parish of Halifax, in 1662.

We see by these illustrations how valuable an aid may be rendered to the study of mediæval history by having recourse to the teaching of seals. Mr. Inderwick has also reproduced several drawings of interiors of courts, from a finely illuminated manuscript which is preserved in the Library of the Inner Temple; and this, with other illustrations, invest his book with additional attraction.

We observe that this work is one member of the "Social England Series", of which we hope to see many other succeeding volumes. If they all afford as pleasant and profitable reading as this one does, the success of the Series will be assured.

A History of Northumberland. By CADWALLADER J. BATES. (London: Stock, 62 Paternoster Row.)—This is one of the most recent additions to the ever-increasing series of smaller county histories which we have from time to time noticed in these columns. They are rightly entitled "Popular County Histories", and they are intended to supply a popular want which the restricted numbers and far higher prices of the old folios never can possibly satisfy, on account of their rarity, bulk, and expense.

Mr. Bates has had a most attractive theme in the county of Northumberland, and we think he has performed his task well: so much so that the work stands second to none in the series for its amount of condensed information and lucid arrangement. The sections or chap-

ters include the four Dykes—the Wall—the Kingdon—the Laydon—Tynedale—the Percies—the Marches—the Radclyffe—and Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In this final chapter, by the way, we do not observe any account of the great Duke of Newcastle whose enormous collection of State papers and correspondence of the eighteenth century has recently passed into the possession of the nation. Full notice has been, however, taken of the older and mediæval annals of the county and folklore, tales illustrative of manners and customs, and the continual conflicts which raged throughout the middle age, between the English and Scots, have been carefully described.

It might have been expected that the author would have given a fuller notice of that unique piece of ancient silversmith's art, the Corbridge *lanc*, which happily still finds a home in the county where it was found, treasured carefully among the antiquities in Alnwick Castle, where also is preserved a valuable collection of Egyptian, and another of Roman objects, respectively described, in recent years, by the late Dr. S. Birch and Dr. Collingwood Bruce, but not noticed by Mr. Bates.

A History of Lancashire. By Lieut.-Col. HENRY FISHWICK, F.S.A. (Stock.)—This is a companion-volume to the preceding, and has been treated in the same manner. The chapters are divided into pre-Roman Lancashire—the Romans and Roman Remains—the Saxon and the Dane—the Normans and the Plantagenets—the Tudors—the Seventeenth Century—and other classes of interest. It is, in fact, a well-arranged chronological summary of county events.

One of the most interesting parts of this book is that which contains the account of the so-called "Lancashire Witches" and pretended demoniacal possessions, and it is curious that the form which these appearances took was very much the same all over the world. The gravely recorded appearances of black cats and brown dogs, the occurrence of scratchings, unusual noises, and the supervening of maladies supposed to be imparted to those who were in any way obnoxious to the parties who had acquired supernatural power, vary but little in the widely separated countries over which the wave of witchcraft passed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and in the county under notice here the matter appears to have taken a very acute form. These reports would be ludicrous in the extreme were it not that they were serious enough to put the lives of many innocent persons to the jeopardy of death, which so frequently was meted out under circumstances of much barbarity. Under any circumstances they deserve investigation by the psychologist.

Ruckinge Church, Kent.—The accurate knowledge and loving enthusiasm which the late Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock brought to bear upon the task of preserving the beautiful memorials of past centuries will be sorely missed. Especially will his loss be felt by those who, at the time of his decease, were engaged, with his assistance, and under his guidance, in the work of rescuing from ruin those monuments of the past in which most of all Mr. Brock delighted, viz., the ancient parish churches of Kent and other parts of the land. But while his personal oversight of the works in progress must needs pass into other hands, it is to be hoped that the utmost care will be taken that his plans for the work shall be carried out. One such case is that of the parish church of Ruckinge, Kent, a building which Mr. Brock regarded as having features of unique interest.

An appeal is now made to all to help to bring to completion a work which Mr. Brock would, doubtless, have regarded as one of the most important works that he had in hand at the time of his decease.

The Rector, Churchwardens, and parishioners of Ruckinge earnestly beg for help in the absolutely necessary work of the repair of their parish church. £1,500 is needed for a simple but efficient restoration. £1,100 of this must be raised without delay, for immediate needs. £650 has been spent during the past year, chiefly in saving from threatened destruction the fine fourteenth century roof, and putting it into sound repair. Over £200 of this has yet to be raised before other and equally necessary work can be commenced. The parish is entirely agricultural, and very poor, and has no squire, lay-patron, or resident gentry.

Mr. Brock in his Report says: "This building is one of unusual interest. It has ample evidence, in the masonry of its walls and two fine doorways, of its erection in Norman times. The nave, chancel, and south chapel, and the upper stage of the tower, including the curious leaded spire, are of fourteenth century date, and they present remarkable and unusual evidences that the work has hardly been interfered with or touched from that remote date to the present time. The roofs, arches, and the great bulk of the structure, are all of the latter period; the added work of later centuries being confined to the formation of the pews, which are in very poor condition, and the floors, which are mainly of common red brick. The church is, therefore, interesting as an example of a building which, in its fabric, has survived to the present time in a condition untouched by modern hands." He adds that the church "*must be repaired now, while repair is possible, or it will very soon fall to decay too great for repair.*"

Probably the earliest record of Ruckinge is the charter of Cuthred,



RUCKINGE CHURCH.



E. M. M.

NORMAN SOUTH DOORWAY, RUCKINGE CHURCH.

King of Kent, granting two hides there to Aldberht the thegn, and Seletthyth the Abbess, in A.D. 805, the text of which has lately been found by Mr. W. de Gray Birch, and printed in his *Cæstularium Saxonicum*, vol. iii, p. 672.

Contributions will be received by Rev. George Harris, Ruckinge Rectory, Ashford, Kent.

Cratfield Parish Papers. By Rev. W. HOLLAND, Rector of Huntingfield. (Jarrold and Sons.)—This volume of Suffolk history is described as being one among many transcripts of parish papers left by the Rev. W. Holland. If it is a fair specimen of the collection, it might be of interest to have a further instalment. The accounts appear to be exceptionally full, and afford many illustrations of minute points of history and manners. Commencing in 1490, and ending in 1642, they display implicitly the changes in the great world around. The entries, for instance, as to the “rowell”, or light before the rood, cease in 1539, when candles were forbidden before any image but that of the Saviour. They recur again, however, in 1541, when there is a charge for “baryng and fetchyng of the rowell”. The migrations of the Table are similar. Witness an entry, under 1557, for “fetchyng of the table that is at the alter from the vycarrage barne”. Among other changes in the fabric and furniture of the church may also be noted the “whitenge and castinge of the curch” in 1583, and the “joining the Pulpit and desk together”, in 1638. There are several inventories of church goods and lists of vestments repaired or remade.

In the later years it is interesting to remark the numerous mentions of unattached ministers or lecturers, more than one of whom, like William Towneson, under 1639, hailed “from out of hye Garminie”.

As to secular matters, many incidental allusions occur to the wars, etc., which take place, as when 18s. are paid, in 1598, “for wachinge of Siswelle becken” on the coast, and 36s. “for the seteing forth of the soulgers to Irland”, or when “the soldier that came from the Palatinate”, in 1624, “with a pass”, receives 2s. 6d.

The hand of the tax-gatherer was not lighter here than elsewhere, and there are particulars of several subsidies, aids (for Prince Henry’s knighthood in 1609, and the Lady Elizabeth’s marriage in 1612), and of the system of purveyance. In the latter entries, is not “the clarke of the market” (at Peasenhall, for instance, a marketless village), a term about which the learned Editor, Dr. Raven, seems in doubt, an officer of the royal household without any proper local connection? As might have been expected of the author of *Church Bells of Suffolk*, Dr. Raven adds notes of his own concerning the Cratfield bells, the

expenses of which are entered in the accounts. One, under 1585, is by Henry Topsel, first of Beccles in Suffolk, and then of West Tarring in Sussex; another, under 1637, by John Brand of Norwich. There are many entries of "potationes ecclesiastice", or "cherch ales", in the earlier years; and in 1547 the full expenses of a colossal "pic-nic" in Melle Wood and West Wood, perhaps held (as is suggested by Mr. Holland) in order to leave as small a sum as possible of the Guild funds to the Augmentation Office. Under 23 March 1637, is an entry, "for three pounds of figs and two pounds raisons"; and again, about the same season in 1641, "for raisins, and amons, and figs, and sugar", of which Dr. Raven can give no satisfactory explanation. Can it allude to the custom which still obtains in the neighbourhood of Watford in Hertfordshire, and perhaps elsewhere, of having fig-pudding on Palm-Sunday?

Important discoveries at Nancy, which will carry the history of the city back several centuries, have been made recently. Two streets dating from the sixth century have been traced, and the excavations have already laid bare seventy tombs of warriors, women, and children. At the feet of each is a vase of coarse earthenware. Jewels of silver and gold, enamelled glass, fibulae, scissors, and tweezers have been found, as well as Gaulish money, and one gold coin of Justinian.

Excavations on Barry Island.—Lord Windsor's workmen recently discovered on Barry Island a splendid Roman well. It is circular in shape, and has walls of solid masonry, 5 ft. thick. We are informed that some bronze objects have been found in the well.





INDEX.

A.

- ABBEY of Valle Crucis, excavations at, 299; western porch at, discovered, 302
Ambrose (Peter), sequestrator, agent for Lancashire, 1650, 27
American tumulus, finds in, 187
ANDREW (S.), "British Footprints: the Oldham Master-Key", 11
Annales de Margam, A.D. 1066-1232, 45
Arden, place-name, 7
Argolis, excavations in, etc., 188
Ashamptead Church, its mural paintings, 349
Astbury Church visited, 84

B.

- BARRETT (C. R. B.) on "Riding Skimington" and "Riding the Stang", 58
— describes Norman remains, Croydon Palace, 91
— exhibited rubbing of, and reads paper on, brass of Nicholas Gaynesford and wife, Carshalton, Surrey, 95
— paper by, on Castor Castle and Sir John Fastolf, 197
— describes discoveries at Hexham, 348
— reads paper on Lede Chapel, 349
Barry Island, Roman well found in, 358
Bases, scaled, a mark of the designer of Castor, etc., 311
Bath, Roman remains found at, 97
Bed-warmer, unusual one, Bramley, Surrey, described, 93
Bell (Celtic) found at farmhouse, Bosbury, 349
BIRCH (W. DE GRAY), notes by, on "Importance of Preserving the Records and Literary Antiquities of Wales", 35
— reads paper on Welsh records, 90
— historical notes of Whalley Abbey, 161
Bishopsgate Street, Roman tesserae found there, 349
Bishops of Winchester, seals of, 102
BLASHILL (T.) exhibits five documents

relating to Sutton in Holderness, near Hull, 95

- BLASHILL (T.) elected Hon. Treasurer, 349
Bosbury, near Ledbury, Celtic bell found at farmhouse, 349
BRADLEY (Miss E.) reads paper on Glas-tonbury, and exhibits objects found at lake dwelling, 197
Bristol Cathedral, old foundations found at, 91
Bristol, tile-pavement discovered in Bride-well Street, 90
British roads, 3; footprints, 11
BROCK (E. P. L.) describes Roman villa at Darenth, 88
— exhibits silver medal of Charles I (1633), 88
— reads notes on steelyard found at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, 92
— exhibits casts, etc., of seals, 95
— reads paper on Roman villa in the Wadfield, near Sudeley Castle, 188

C.

- Cabra (Conde de), his arms on a tile at Cordova, 189
Caer Cystenyn, 21; Roman road at, 23
Caer Seiont, 21
Canals, 2
Canterbury, Norman crypt discovered at, 86
CART (Rev. H.) on a recent visit to Carthage, 190
Carving at Wakerley Church, 311
Castor Church, Northants, its supposed French designer, 309; dedicated, 1124, 309; granted to Peterborough, 1133, 309; materials from, reused, 313
CAVE-BROWNE (Rev. J.) reads paper on Otham Church, parish, and manor-house, 95, 167
— paper by, on Isle of Purbeck and its marble, 349
Caversham, King Charles I at, 286
Chartulary of Llandaff (1150), 40; MS. of Arundel Collection, B. M., 41, 42, 47

Cheetham's Hospital visited, 83
 Chester, Roman building discovered at, 69; Cathedral visited, 83; crypt found in Watergate Street, 303

Civil War, some bypaths of, 25

Celestial, the, 62

COLLIER (Rev. C. V.) exhibits ticket to witness trial of Lord Lovat, 197

— exhibits various copper coins, 318

Committee for confiscation of estates appointed, 1642, 25

Constantinople, walls of, represented, 312

Croydon Palace, Norman stones built up in, 91

Crypt found in Watergate Street, Chester, 303; at Messrs. Roberts' establishment, Chester, 69

D.

DAVIS (C.) exhibits brasses of Gloucestershire, 197

DAVIS (Major C. E.), his discoveries of Roman remains at Bath, 97

DENT (Mrs.), of Sudeley Castle, exhibits drawings of steelyard found at Winchcombe, 92

— specimens of, found at various places, 92

— exhibits illustrations of tiles from Hailes Abbey, Winchcombe Church and Abbey, 189

— exhibits rubbing of tile from church in Cordova, 189

— sends for exhibition coloured plates of tiles from Stanton Church, Sudeley Castle, and Winchcombe Abbey, 197

Deva, traces of a building discovered at, west of the Forum, Chester, 69

DONALDSON (Professor) on Roman roads, 5

Doors of St. Sabina Church, Rome, 95

Dorford Hall visited, 85

F.

FISHWICK (Lieut.-Col. H.) on pre-Norman churches in Lancashire, 154

FRYER (Dr. A. C.), paper by, on Igel Monument in Germany, 91

— on finds in an American tumulus, 187

— description by, of Roman monument, Igel, 296

G.

Goldsmiths' Hall Committee of Sequestration prior to 1650, 26

GREEN (J. R.), his summary of Wat Tyler's insurrection, 126

H.

Hendley (Thomas), brass of, at Otham Church, his wives and children, 172

Hexham, mortaria with metal pestles found at, 318

Holy Sepulchre, Church of, represented in carving, 312

I.

Igel, Roman monument at, and inscription on, 296

Inscription, Roman, 292

Interlacing design, cross at Castor, Northants, 310

IRVING (J. T.) sends notes on a carved capital in Wakerley Church, 197

— notes by, on Northants churches designed probably by a French master-mason, 309

K.

Kil as a place-name, 19

L.

Lancashire, the civil wars, by-paths in, 25; Llanbeblig, 21; Church, 25

Latini (Brunetto) visits Shirburn Castle, 1294, 294

Lede "Chapel in River", York, 349

Leg' XX, VV. 71

LEWIS (Rev. G. B.) exhibits photograph of Norman font at Toller Church, Dorset, 89

Liber Landavensis, 39

Llandaff, chartulary of (1150), 40

Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, documents connected with, 44

LUKEY (Councillor) sends photograph of niche found in house, High Street, Canterbury, 86

M.

Macclesfield visited, 84

Madoc (Ordus), monumental slab of, 300

Maen in place-names, 9

MAKINSON (C., Alderman) describes "The Ancient Courts of the Borough of Salford", 314

Manchester, early occupants of, 1; Court Leet, records of (1552), 50; Report on, *ib.*; Cathedral visited, 83; bench-end at, 89

Manor of Manchester, 49; early deeds relating to, *ib.*; purchased by Corporation, *ib.*; Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., lord of the Manor, *ib.*; Corporation obtain old deeds relative to, *ib.*

Margam Abbey documents, 41

Master-mason of certain Northants churches, 309

Maxey Church tower, its designer, 310

McDONALD (R. H.) reads paper on the Hill of Tara, 95

Medieval floor found at Chester, 306

Mersey (The), Morecambe Bay, etc., 1

Monastery of Whitefriars, Chester, its site, 305

MONEY (WALTER), "A Walk to Shirburn Castle, Oxford", 197, 285

Montacute House, Somerset, the "Skymnety" there represented, 64
 Morecambe Bay, early occupants round, 1
 Morton (Little Hall, 84
 MOYLE (Rev. V. H.) on the Church of Ashmolestead, Berks., 319

N.

Nancy, France, discoveries at, 358
 Nantwich visited, 85
 Nidstaeng (The), 59
 Norman carved stones, Croydon Palace, 91; crypt, Canterbury, 86; described, 87; font in garden at Wootton, Wilts., 90
 Northants churches, work of the same master-mason, 309

O.

OLIVER (M. A.) exhibits bench-end from Manchester Cathedral, 89
 ——— exhibits Roman lamps from Corfu, etc., 348
 ——— exhibits a Bellarmine, 94
 Otham Church, 95; Church and parish, 167; Manor House, 178
 OWEN (Rev. T. H.) describes excavations at Valle Crucis Abbey, 299

P.

PATRICK (G.) exhibits collection of keys and gold medal, 190
 ——— exhibits drawings of, and reads paper on, remains of Old Winchester House, Southwark, 348
 PHENÉ (J. S.) on researches and excavations in Argolis and other parts of Greece, 188
 Polybius on nations north of Alps, 7
 Portemannemoot of the Free Borough of Salford, 314
 Pre-Norman work found at Valle Crucis Abbey, 301

Q.

QUICK (R.) exhibits, and reads notes on, Celtic and other bells, 349

R.

Records, Court of Borough of Salford, 314
 Richard, priest of Castor, probably the founder of its church, 309
 Richard, King of the Romans, arms of, on steelyard weights, 92
 Rievaulx, seal of John, Abbot of (1363), 348
 Roads, Central Italy, 4
 Roman altar found at Llanbeblig Church, 97; well found at Barry Island, 358; also Roman remains found there, 358; balance found at Chester, 80; funeral inscribed monument at Shirburn Castle, 292; inscription, *ib.*; inscription on monument at Igel, 296; monument at Igel described, *ib.*; remains, discovery

of 22; road in Barton 3; road, Blackstone Edge, 85; road and bridge, 44; street found (1884) at Chester, 306; villa found at Darent, Kent, 88
 Roper (Margaret), 142
 Rye, H. A. exhibits seal of John, Abbot of Rievaulx, 348

S.

Salford, Borough, ancient Court Records, 314
 San Francisco, mound near, excavated, 187
 Saxon churches in Lancashire, 154; cross, Helton Church, 157; crosses, Wharfedale churchyard, 158; cross, Winkley Church, 159
 Sealed bases, an especial mark of Castor's designer, 310
 Seal of Henry Beaumont (1405-47), 115; of Thomas Billson (1596-1616), 120; of Henry of Blois (1129-71), 102; of Edward Harold Browne (1874-91), 124; of William of Edington (1346-66), 111; of Nicholas of Ely (1268-89), 107; of John of Exeter (1212-65), 100; of Stephen Gardiner (1531-56), 118; of Robert Horne (1560-79), 120; of Godfrey de Lucy (1189-1204), 104; of Peter Mews (1684-1706), 122; of John of Portoise (1282-1304), 103; of Peter des Roches (1205-38), 105; of John de Sandale (1316-19), 110; of John, Abbot of Rievaulx, 348; of Charles Richard Summer (1827-69), 123; of Anthony Wilson Thorold (1891), 124; of Richard Tocliffe (1174-88), 103; of Aymer de Valence (1250-60), 105; of John White (1556-60), 112; of Winchester Bishops, 101; of Samuel Wilberforce (1869-73), 123; of Henry Woodlock (1306-16), 109; of William of Wykeham (1367-1404), 112
 Segontium, 21; discovery of Roman remains, 22; name from *Sabon*, the river, 24
 Senones (The), 6
 Sequestration document, civil war in Lancashire (1651), 31, 33, etc.
 SHERATON (H.) on discoveries at Segontium and St. Bebbig's Church, 97
 Shirburn Castle, a walk to, 285; described, 290; history of, 293; licence to combat, *ib.*
 Shoe Lane, by H. Syer Cuning, 139
 Siche, or Sike, place-name, 15
 South Wales, chronicles of, 46
 Southwark, drawings of Old Winchester House, 348
 SPARROW-SIMPSON (Rev. Dr. W.), paper by, "On the Head of Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury", 91, 126
 Stang, digging on, brass at Lynton, 67

Stanlaw Abbey, 161

STANNING (Rev. J. H., M.A.), "On some By Paths of the Civil War in Lancashire", 25

Steelyards, various finds of, 92

St. Beblig, or Peblig, or Publicius, figure of, discovered, 23

St. Sabina, doors of Church of, Rome, 95

St. Sofia represented in carvings in England, 312

Sudbury (Simon), Archbishop, relic of, 91

T.

TALBOT (Miss), of Margam, possesses documents of Margam Abbey, 41

Tibald (Archbishop Simon), *alias* Sudbury, note of his life, 130

Tile-pavement found at Bristol, 90

Toller Church, Dorset, font at, 89 (described vol. I., pp. 329, 331)

Town Hall, Watlington, 295

Tympanum, figure on, of Our Blessed Lord, at Castor, 310

V.

Valle Crucis Abbey, excavation of, 299

Veneti (The), 7

Vennones (The), 5

Verneys of Claydon, time of civil war, 33

W.

Wakerley Church, its Norman master-mason, 311

Wales, catalogue of Welsh documents, 38; records and literary antiquities of, 35; documents connected with, 44

Wansford font designed by architect of Castor Church, 310

Warre family, 53

Water Newton Church. Norman work re-used in, 313; monumental figure of founder at, *ib.*; inscription on, *ib.*

Watlington Town Hall, 295

WAY (E.) exhibits Roman pottery found in Southwark, 189, and *Good Thoughts for Bad Times*, and *Good Thoughts for Worse Times*, by Thomas Fuller, D.D.

— exhibits two leaves from a Missal, thirteenth century, a porcelain bead, and pseudo Samian dish, from Southwark, 197

Welsh documents, in whose possession, 45; ancient Chronicle of, 46; laws, documents of, 39

Wenhaston Church, Suffolk, painting at, 96; churchwardens' accounts begun 1645; antique bronze of Venus found at, 96; vicars' list from 1217, 96

West family, 56

Whaddon, Wilts., font in garden at, 90

Whalley Abbey visited, 84; notes on, by W. de Gray Birch, 161; a Cistercian building, founded 1296; MS. relative to the history of, 165

White Friars' Monastery, Chester, its site, 305

WILLIAMS (F. H.) on traces of a building discovered west of Forum, Chester, 69

— describes crypt found at Chester, 303

Winchester House, Southwark, 348

Winchester, seals of the Bishops of, 101

WYON (A.), paper on seals of Bishops of Winchester, 101



LONDON :

BEDFORD PRESS, 20 AND 21 BEDFORDSBURY, W.C.

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00098 9307

